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MEMOIRS

OF THE

LIFE AND WRITINGS

OF

THE HONOURABLE

HENRY HOME OF KAMES,

ONE OF THE SENATORS OF THE COLLEGE OF JUSTICE, AND ONE OF THE LORDS COMMISSIONERS OF JUSTICIARY IN SCOTLAND:

CONTAINING

SKETCHES

OF THE

PROGRESS OF LITERATURE AND GENERAL IMPROVEMENT IN SCOTLAND DURING THE GREATER PART OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

BY THE HONOURABLE

ALEX. FRASER TYTLER OF WOODHOUSELEE,

ONE OF THE SENATORS OF THE COLLEGE OF JUSTICE, AND ONE OF THE LORDS COMMISSIONERS OF JUSTICIARY IN SCOTLAND.

C'est pécher contre le Public que de taire la vertu des uns, C'est envier l'honneur que méritent les uns, et ravir à tous le désir de les imiter. — *Paneg. du Sully*

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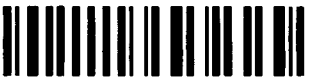
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MEMOIRS

OF

LORD KAMES.

BOOK III.

CHAPTER I.

Lord Kames appointed a Lord of Justiciary.—His character in that department.—His correspondence with Dr Tucker—with Mr Harris of Salisbury—with Dr Franklin renewed—with Dr John Walker.—Letter from Dr Franklin.—His observations on Scottish Music.

FROM the period of the publication of *Elements of Criticism* in 1762, Lord Kames seems to have, for a few years, devoted himself exclusively to his professional occupation as a Judge. CHAP. I.

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Lord Kames appointed a Lord of Justiciary.

On the 15th of April 1763, he was appointed one of the Lords of Justiciary, the Supreme Criminal Tribunal in Scotland; and that important duty he continued to discharge to the end of his life, with equal diligence and ability, and with the strictest rectitude of moral feeling. He has been censured by some, for severity as a criminal Judge: but he had no other severity than that which arises in a warm and ingenuous mind from the abhorrence of vice; from the hatred of crimes, and the zeal for their suppression. From the difference in the constitution and forms of the criminal courts in Scotland and in England, there is a material difference in the functions of the Judge. In Scotland, where every criminal is allowed on his trial the aid of counsel to conduct his defence, to examine the evidence, to urge every argument in exculpation that can avail either with the Court or Jury, and to reply to the pleadings and charge of the prosecutor, the Judge is not, as in England, understood to be *ex officio* of counsel for the party accused. It is his function to observe the most severe neutrality, to hold the equal balance of Justice, and to moderate, on the

His character in that department.

one hand, any inordinate rigour on the part of the prosecutor, (if that should ever appear, where there is no motive to excite to it), and, on the other, to restrain the more natural, and therefore more frequent attempts of the prisoner's counsel to pervert the law, and confound the limits of justice in the minds of the jury.—In this necessary part of his judicial office, Lord Kames was, from the acuteness of his understanding, and the great extent of his legal knowledge, fitted most eminently to excel; and his feelings, as I have said, gave the keener edge to his intellect. The Court and the Bar were sensible to those merits of the Judge; but it was not unnatural, that to the ignorant vulgar, that conduct should wear the appearance of severity, which was truly the result of an uniform and steady resolution to fulfil a sacred duty.

As his attention had been long directed to the subject of the penal law, which he had studied as an important branch of the philosophy of the human mind, his opinions were always founded on principle; and at

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a time when that department of jurisprudence had been very little cultivated in Scotland, they were of much benefit in reducing both the doctrines of the science and the practice of the Court to a systematic precision and uniformity. We had not then to boast of the elaborate and able *Commentaries* of *Mr David Hume* the younger, *on the Criminal Law*, both in its doctrinal part, and in the forms of proceedings in the trial of crimes. The antiquated Treatise of Sir George Mackenzie, (published above a century ago), was the only authority on that subject; in every case a most defective, and very generally an erroneous source of information with regard to the present state of the law.

Agreeably to the former practice of the Court of Justiciary, it was a part of the Judge's duty to examine the witnesses, and to dictate their evidence to the clerk, who engrossed it in the record of the Court. In this part of his function, Lord Kames was particularly skilful. In the mode of his examination, there was a judicious precision of interrogatory, peculiarly fitted to bring out

the truth. He suffered no attempt on the part of the counsel to brow-beat, to perplex, or irritate the witness in the delivering of his testimony; as rightly judging all such proceedings to be a contamination of the evidence,—an endeavour to restrain or to pervert the truth, which it is the bounden duty of the Judge to bring forth pure and unsophisticated. His dictation of the import of the evidence was a model for accuracy and perspicuity. By the later practice of the Court, (since the 23d Geo. III. c. 45.), the engrossing of the evidence in the record is no longer in use. It was found to protract the trials to an unnecessary length, and is now superseded by the Judge's summary of the proof in his charge to the jury, before they are inclosed to return their verdict.

Correspondence with Dr Tucker,

Though disengaged for some years from any continued literary occupation, Lord Kames's epistolary correspondence shews, that his mind retained its usual activity, and delighted in an extensive range of useful speculation. The ingenious Dr Tucker, Dean of Gloucester, and afterwards of Bris-

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tol, had, through the medium of Messrs Foulis of Glasgow, the printers of some of his political Tracts, solicited Lord Kames's acquaintance, and begun a correspondence with him in 1757, on some of those topics of political economy which occasionally employed the attention of both. "My printer" (says the Dean) "has given me to under-"stand that your Lordship would not be "displeased with an overture of this sort; "and such is the celebrity of your charac-"ter, even in this distant part of the king-"dom, that I cannot but wish to cultivate "such a correspondence. Self-interest alone "prompts to this desire—the knowledge "and instruction to be gained by it." The overture was readily accepted, and the letters yet remaining, shew, that the correspondence was carried on for many years with mutual satisfaction *.

—with Mr Harris of Salisbury.

The reputation of Mr HARRIS of Salisbury for his knowledge in universal grammar,

* A few of these letters, the reader, who is conversant in the speculations to which they relate, may not be displeased to find in the Appendix to Vol. II. No. I.

evinced by his *Hermes*, and his other ingenious and classical writings, had induced Lord Kames, though personally unacquainted with him, to write to him on some grammatical topics which then engaged his attention. In return, he received from Mr Harris the following letter, which is extremely characteristic of the writer:

" *London, Jermyn Street,*
" *February 5.* 1762.

" Sir,

" A large share of business before I left the country, and the necessary duty of attending Parliament, since I have been in town, have together prevented my acknowledging a favour which I ought long since to have done.

" I think myself amply paid for all my literary labours, if they can merit approbation from men of learning and ingenuity, I may say in particular the scholars of North Britain, where so strong a relish for Greek and Latin literature still prevails *, while

* It were to be wished this compliment were a little more merited than it is in the present day.

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French, and experimental philosophy have almost banished it everywhere else. I don't say that these last studies have not their value; but I can't approve, that, like those Egyptian kine, they should eat up all the rest. The Barrows, the Wallises, and the Halleys of old, were all critical readers and admirers of the Greek mathematicians. Few, I am told, of our modern geometricians either read them, or are able to do so, if we except your learned and most accurate Professor, Dr Simpson. Some of them blamed me, who am (God knows) but moderately versed in these matters, for saying in my *Hermes*, The *Diametre* of a square, where, according to them, I should have said, The *Diagonal*. They did not know that *Diametre* was Euclid's own word in that very instance.

" As many people labour under what an old tutor of mine used to call the *Hellenophoby*, I can't tell but the Greek scattered through my *Hermes* may have retarded its sale, by terrifying certain readers from its unpleasing appearance. This gives me little concern, provided I can (according to Milton)

fit audience find, though few. Though I hope I have not proved myself a *slave* to authority, I must confess myself a *friend* to it. Invention is a divine thing, a gift only bestowed on the chosen few. But to *invent* and to *complete*, I am prone to believe was never the character of any one. It was a character indeed given to Homer of old, and to Newton of late; and so far is true, they were inventors of *all that was wanting to make their subject perfect.* But had not Kepler and Galileo, perhaps Euclid and Archimedes, existed before, there had never, I believe, been Newton; and had not Linus, Musæus, and those other songsters, which the old bard himself mentions, existed *before*, there had never, I fancy, been Homer.

"These are considerations which make me so fond of authority; so desirous to build on foundations already laid; to arrange and to explain what others have said; and by a new dress, and proper additions of my own, to give the whole, not only the air, but I think the real character of an original. Indeed, if truth be eternal, what ori-

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ginals can there be else? A man *does not make the truths* he publishes, as a quack does his medicines: He exhibits what he finds; what is not only *now*, but was *ever*.

"'Tis a common language with writers at present, to declaim against systems; *they* truly are tied to none; *they* freely pursue truth, wherever they can trace her, whomever she may oppose, whomever she may countenance. Infinite are the works of this kind, which come out every day. They grow as fast to maturity, as those teeth sown by Cadmus, and are generally as prone to quarrel with one another. One cause of this species of writing is self-conceit; but another, and a far more frequent, is ignorance and want of literature. If they were not thus to build from their own paltry materials, they would have no materials for building at all.

"I have so great a dislike to this practice, that I shall certainly follow the contrary, if ever I pursue my original plan. Whether I shall have time or health to do

so, is a matter of much doubt, although I have made some beginnings. CHAP. I.

" As to what you say about Pronouns, I don't think it much to differ from what I have said myself. I think them, as you do, substantives, only a secondary race. They represent proper names, but they represent them *with restriction.* If it be said, *Cæsar* conquers, it is said universally, whether it be the speaker, the person spoken *to*, or spoken *of*. But if it be said, *I* conquer, it means Cæsar, *under the restriction of being himself the speaker.* Children, in their first essays of speech, appear not to comprehend this *restrictive* appellation of themselves. The little boy says not, Give *me* some cake; but, Give *Tommy* some cake. He comprehends his own *simple* proper name, before he is able to comprehend its *more artificial substitute.* This I think an argument drawn from nature, that pronouns are *secondary.*

" If you will forgive my delay, and favour me at your leisure with any other of your literary sentiments, you will highly ob-

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lige, Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

JAMES HARRIS."

"*P. S.* Since writing the above, Dr Blair has informed me in some matters, of which I should have been ashamed to have been ignorant, and sent this letter to your Lordship.—From him it was I learnt that you were the author of some very ingenious Essays, which I had read some time ago, and which I did not approve the less, from having a tincture of metaphysics. Your Lordship's *Tract on Necessity* I was particularly struck with. Though I unwillingly and with reluctance assent to that doctrine, (perhaps owing to that *delusive feeling*, which you suppose planted within us), yet I should not wish to have it a task imposed on me to answer what your Lordship has so ably said in support of that subject.

"*February* 6. 1762."

—with Dr Franklin.

The correspondence with Dr FRANKLIN had been for some time interrupted, when Lord Kames received from him the following letter, written immediately before his

departure for America in 1762, after a residence of some years in London, in the quality of agent for several of the colonies, in those important concerns which they had to transact with the Government of the mother-country.

" *Portsmouth, August* 17. 1762.

" My dear Lord,

" I am now waiting here only for a wind to waft me to America, but cannot leave this happy island and my friends in it, without extreme regret, though I am going to a country and a people that I love. I am going from the old world to the new; and I fancy I feel like those who are leaving this world for the next; grief at the parting; fear of the passage; hope of the future: these different passions all affect their minds at once; and these have tendered me down exceedingly. It is usual for the dying to beg forgiveness of their surviving friends, if they have ever offended them. Can you, my Lord, forgive my long silence, and my not acknowledging till now the favour you did me in sending me your excel-

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lent book? Can you make some allowance for a fault in others which you have never experienced in yourself; for the bad habit of postponing from day to day, what one every day resolves to do to-morrow? a habit that grows upon us with years, and whose only excuse is, that we know not how to mend it. If you are disposed to favour me, you will also consider how much one's mind is taken up and distracted by the many little affairs one has to settle, before the undertaking such a voyage, after so long a residence in a country; and how little in such a situation, one's mind is fitted for serious and attentive reading, which, with regard to the *Elements of Criticism*, I intended before I should write. I can now only confess and endeavour to amend. In packing up my books, I have reserved yours to read on the passage. I hope I shall therefore be able to write to you upon it soon after my arrival. At present I can only return my thanks, and say that the parts I have read gave me both pleasure and instruction; that I am convinced of your position, new as it was to me, that a good taste in the arts contributes to the improvement of morals;

and that I have had the satisfaction of hearing the work universally commended by those who have read it.

"And now, my dear Sir, accept my sincerest thanks for the kindness you have shewn me, and my best wishes of happiness to you and yours. Wherever I am, I shall esteem the friendship you honour me with as one of the felicities of my life; I shall endeavour to cultivate it by a more punctual correspondence, and I hope frequently to hear of your welfare and prosperity. Adieu, my dear friend, and believe me ever most affectionately yours,

B. FRANKLIN."

—with Dr John Walker.

I have mentioned the very active share taken by Lord Kames in all the proceedings of the Board of Trustees for the Encouragement of the Fisheries, Arts, and Manufactures, and Commissioners for the Management of the Forfeited Estates. Among other useful plans which were the fruit of his suggestion, was a visitation or survey of the *Western Islands*, with a view to the improvement of that much neglected

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object, the Herring-Fishery, as well as the introduction of such a degree of agriculture and pasturage, or species of manufacture, as might be suitable to the soil, climate, and other local circumstances of the several Isles. The person whom he pitched upon for that purpose, and whom the Commissioners of Annexed Estates accordingly appointed, was the late Dr JOHN WALKER, (afterwards Professor of Natural History in the University of Edinburgh), a man most eminently qualified for that employment, as joining to every endowment of scientific knowledge requisite for the undertaking, an ardent mind, and a great portion of natural sagacity and penetration. The following letter, written from Stornoway, in the Isle of Lewis, suggests important matters of consideration to every well-wisher to the interests of his country.

" *To Lord* KAMES.

" *Stornoway, August* 17. 1764.

" MY LORD,

" I received yesterday the favour of your Lordship's letter, and have taken this first

opportunity, since my last, to acquaint you with my progress. CHAP. I.

" After leaving *Isla* I proceeded to *Jura*, *Colonsay*, *Oronsay*, *Icolmkill*, *Mull*, *Coll*, *Tiree*, *Rum*, *Eigg* and *Canna*; after which I went through *Barra*, *South* and *North Uist*, *Benbecula*, *Berncra*, *Valay*, *Pabbay*, *Ensay* and *Harris*, and arrived yesterday at this place.

" I have seen the most fertile lands I ever saw in my life, without cultivation; a people by nature the most acute and sagacious, perfectly idle; the most valuable fisheries without lines or nets; and in every corner, one of the finest harbours that nature ever formed, a beautiful though useless void, as inanimate and unfrequented as those of the *Terra Australis*.

" The only appearance of industry I have met with in the Islands, is at this place. They have for some time had a considerable fishery of cod and ling. Their greatest discouragement is the difficulty of pro-

BOOK III. curing salt, and the hazard they run with salt-bonds. But that, I hope, will be removed in this corner, by the erection of a custom-house, which was done yesterday.

" One of the most effectual encouragements of the fishery in the Islands, and I think the easiest and cheapest, that has yet occurred to me, would be £1000 worth of salt and casks laid up at one or two proper places, to be sold to the inhabitants at prime cost.

" The Herrings have been swarming, since the end of last month, on the coasts both of the main-land, and Long-Island; but except a few taken in Skye, I have not seen nor heard of one *last* being preserved.

" Lying at anchor last Monday night, in calm moon-shine, in the fine land-locked lake at Island-Glass in the Lewes, which is a circle of two miles, perfectly surrounded with lofty mountains, I saw the water heaving with the fish, and felt even the air strongly impregnated with their smell. Three small Highland yawls, each of them

with an old tattered net, came alongside of us by daylight, loaded to the brim, with the largest herrings I ever saw, which the poor people were anxious to sell at fourpence the six score, having no salt nor casks to preserve them. And this is at present the case in every loch in these parts. CHAP. I.

" When the spinning-school was erected here eight months ago, it met with the greatest opposition from the people. No young woman could be brought to it, till they were compelled. To avoid this, great numbers of them got themselves married, which was the case with several but of twelve years old. But finding that this was to be no protection, they at length submitted, and ever since, the school has continued full. They now find it both easy and profitable, and pursue it with a degree of spirit and cheerfulness, which is very agreeable. I saw above fifty of them, from nine to twenty-five years of age, at their wheels, in one room, where a wheel was scarce ever known before. They seemed quite happy at their work, and all joined in a Highland song,

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which gave me more pleasure, if it be safe to own such an unpolite notion, than any concert I was ever present at.

" The spinning mistress, who is a woman from Fife, I found under real, nay I may say, bodily amazement, at the quick apprehension and docility of her scholars; who, though they understand not her language, comprehend in a day or two every thing she means. I was not, however, so much surprised at this, as the good woman seemed to be, having been for two months past more and more convinced, that the mind of man is to be observed more and more perfect, as one moves northwards: that a penetrating air seems to produce penetrating souls, and that wind and weather, the keener they are, appear to give the sharper edge to the human understanding *.

* This observation, which the writer meant purely as a jest, was in no hazard of being mistaken by his correspondent, who perfectly knew the Doctor's manner: nor should I have thought it necessary here to notice it, had I not found with some surprise, that an ingenious critic, to whose remarks in one of the literary journals I am much indebted, has sup-

"I have met with a strong confirmation of my notion of raising hemp in the Western Islands. I was on Tuesday last, on board of a herring-buss in Loch-shell, bound from Stornoway to the rendezvous at Campbelltown, whose nets are wholly made of hemp which grew in the Lewes. But there is not a stalk of it in any other of the Islands.

"I inquired carefully after the plant which dyes black without burning the cloth, and found it, at length, in South Uist, where indeed they make a fine black with it. I hope to have the pleasure of shewing it to your Lordship in great plenty in Duddingston Loch. But the franking act obliges me to stop.——I ever am your Lordship's devoted servant,

JOHN WALKER."

The fruit of this journey, (which lasted

posed that the writer was seriously of the opinion which he here delivers, and censured him for it accordingly. (See *British Critic* for *August* 1807, p. 158.)

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seven months, and in which, by Dr Walker's own computation, he traversed by sea and land, a space of above three thousand miles), was a most elaborate Report made to the Board of Annexed Estates, relative to the present state of Agriculture, Fisheries, and Manufactures in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, with an ample detail of the best means for their improvement, as suggested by the nature of the country, and its local advantages.

On the return of Dr Franklin to London in 1765, Lord Kames received from him the following letter; which affords some interesting particulars of the life of that extraordinary man; together with some ingenious observations on the national Music of the Scots:

" *Craven Street, London,*
June 2. 1765.

" My dear Lord,

Letter from Dr Franklin.

" I received with great pleasure your friendly letter by Mr Alexander, which I should have answered sooner by some other

conveyance, if I had not understood that his stay here was like to be so long. I value myself extremely on the continuance of your regard, which I hope hereafter better to deserve, by more punctual returns in the correspondence you honour me with.

" You require my history from the time I set sail for America. I left England about the end of August 1762, in company with ten sail of merchant ships, under convoy of a man of war. We had a pleasant passage to Madeira, where we were kindly received and entertained; our nation being then in high honour with the Portuguese, on account of the protection we were then affording them against the united invasions of France and Spain. 'Tis a fertile island, and the different heights and situations among its mountains, afford such different temperaments of air, that all the fruits of northern and southern countries are produced there; corn, grapes, apples, peaches, oranges, lemons, plantains, bananas, &c. Here we furnished ourselves with fresh provisions, and refreshments of all kinds; and

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after a few days proceeded on our voyage, running southward till we got into the trade winds, and then with them westward, till we drew near the coast of America. The weather was so favourable, that there were few days in which we could not visit from ship to ship, dining with each other, and on board the man of war; which made the time pass agreeably, much more so than when one goes in a single ship; for this was like travelling in a moving village, with all one's neighbours about one. On the first of November, I arrived safe and well at my own house, after an absence of near six years, found my wife and daughter well; the latter grown quite a woman, with many amiable accomplishments acquired in my absence, and my friends as hearty and affectionate as ever; with whom my house was filled for many days, to congratulate me on my return. I had been chosen yearly during my absence to represent the city of Philadelphia in our Provincial Assembly; and on my appearance in the House, they voted me £3000 Sterling for my services in England, and their thanks delivered by the Speaker. In February following, my

son arrived, with my new daughter; for with my consent and approbation he married, soon after I left England, a very agreeable West India lady, with whom he is very happy. I accompanied him into his government, where he met with the kindest reception from the people of all ranks, and has lived with them ever since in the greatest harmony. A river only parts that province and ours, and his residence is within seventeen miles of me, so that we frequently see each other. In the spring of 1763, I set out on a tour through all the northern colonies, to inspect and regulate the Post-offices in the several provinces. In this journey, I spent the summer, travelled about 1600 miles, and did not get home till the beginning of November. The Assembly sitting through the following winter, and warm disputes arising between them and the Governor, I became wholly engaged in public affairs: for besides my duty as an Assemblyman, I had another trust to execute, that of being one of the Commissioners appointed by law to dispose of the public money appropriated to the raising and paying an army to act against the Indians, and defend

BOOK III. the frontiers. And then in December, we had two insurrections of the back inhabitants of our province, by whom twenty poor Indians were murdered, that had from the first settlement of the province lived among us, under the protection of our Government. This gave me a good deal of employment; for as the rioters threatened farther mischief, and their actions seemed to be approved by an increasing party, I wrote a pamphlet, entitled, *A Narrative*, &c. (which I think I sent you), to strengthen the hands of our weak Government, by rendering the proceedings of the rioters unpopular and odious. This had a good effect: and afterwards, when a great body of them with arms marched towards the capital, in defiance of the Government, with an avowed resolution to put to death 140 Indian converts then under its protection, I formed an association at the Governor's request, for his and their defence, we having no militia. Near 1000 of the citizens accordingly took arms; Governor Penn made my house for some time his head-quarters, and did every thing by my advice; so that for about forty-eight hours I was a very great man, as I

had been once some years before, in a time of public danger: But the fighting face we put on, and the reasonings we used with the insurgents, (for I went, at the request of the Governor and Council, with three others, to meet and discourse them), having turned them back, and restored quiet to the city, I became a less man than ever: for I had by these transactions made myself many enemies among the populace; and the Governor, (with whose family our public disputes had long placed me in an unfriendly light, and the services I had lately rendered him not being of the kind that make a man acceptable), thinking it a favourable opportunity, joined the whole weight of the proprietary interest to get me out of the Assembly, which was accordingly effected at the last election, by a majority of about 25 in 4000 voters. The House, however, when they met in October, approved of the resolutions taken while I was Speaker, of petitioning the Crown for a change of Government, and requested me to return to England to prosecute that petition; which service I accordingly undertook, and embarked the beginning of November last, being

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accompanied to the ship, sixteen miles, by a cavalcade of three hundred of my friends, who filled our sails with their good wishes; and I arrived in thirty days at London. Here I have been ever since engaged in that, and other public affairs relating to America, which are like to continue some time longer upon my hands: but I promise you, that when I am quit of these, I will engage in no other; and that as soon as I have recovered the ease and leisure I hope for, the task you require of me, of finishing my *Art of Virtue*, shall be performed. In the mean time, I must request you would excuse me on this consideration, that the powers of the mind are possessed by different men in different degrees, and that every one cannot, like Lord Kames, intermix literary pursuits and important business, without prejudice to either.

"I send you herewith two or three other pamphlets of my writing on our political affairs, during my short residence in America; but I do not insist on your reading them; for I know you employ all your time to some useful purpose.

CHAP. I.

Dr Franklin's observations on Scottish music.

"In my passage to America, I read your excellent work, the *Elements of Criticism*, in which I found great entertainment: much to admire, and nothing to reprove. I only wished you had examined more fully the subject of Music, and demonstrated, that the pleasure which artists feel in hearing much of that composed in the modern taste, is not the natural pleasure arising from melody or harmony of sounds, but of the same kind with the pleasure we feel on seeing the surprising feats of tumblers and rope-dancers, who execute difficult things. For my part, I take this to be really the case, and suppose it the reason why those, who being unpractised in music, and therefore unacquainted with those difficulties, have little or no pleasure in hearing this music. Many pieces of it are mere compositions of tricks. I have sometimes at a concert, attended by a common audience, placed myself so as to see all their faces, and observed no signs of pleasure during the performance of much that was admired by the performers themselves; while a plain old *Scottish Tune*, which they disdained, and could scarcely be prevailed on to play,

BOOK III. gave manifest and general delight. Give me leave on this occasion to extend a little the sense of your position, that "Melody "and Harmony are separately agreeable, "and in union delightful," and to give it as my opinion, that the reason why the Scotch tunes have lived so long, and will probably live for ever, (if they escape being stifled in modern affected ornament), is merely this, that they are really compositions of melody and harmony united, or rather that their melody is harmony. I mean the simple tunes sung by a single voice. As this will appear paradoxical, I must explain my meaning. In common acceptation indeed, only an agreeable *succession* of sounds is called *Melody;* and only the *co-existence* of agreeing sounds, *Harmony*. But since the memory is capable of retaining for some moments a perfect idea of the pitch of a past sound, so as to compare with it the pitch of a succeeding sound, and judge truly of their agreement or disagreement, there may, and does arise from thence a sense of harmony between present and past sounds, equally pleasing with that between two present sounds. Now the construction of the old

Scotch tunes is this, that almost every succeeding *emphatical* note, is a third, a fifth, an octave, or in short some note that is in concord with the preceding note. Thirds are chiefly used, which are very pleasing concords *. I use the word *emphatical*, to

* This notion of Dr Franklin's respecting what may be called the *Ideal Harmony* of the Scottish melodies, is extremely acute, and is marked by that ingenious simplicity in the thought, which is the characteristic of a truly philosophic mind. In supplement to his observation, that the past sound being retained by the memory, forms a concord with the present sound, it may perhaps be added, that the *tympanum* of the ear continuing to vibrate for some little time, after it is struck by any musical note, the succeeding note will be either agreeable or disagreeable, as it accords, or is in discordance with the existing vibration. Now a succession of notes by *thirds* and *fifths*, will always find the tympanum in concord, and the last vibration harmonizing with the succeeding. This notion accounts completely for the effect of the Scottish melodies, in giving pleasure alike to an intelligent judge of music, and to a person of uncultivated taste, provided he have a good musical ear: for the pleasure arising from a succession of sounds, in the regular intervals of *thirds* and *fifths*, and likewise that arising from their concord, is founded in nature, and in the mechanical structure of the organs of hearing, and is altogether independent on custom or acquired taste. A Scottish air will therefore be grateful alike to the ear of a Greenlander, a Japanese, and a native of Italy: If possessed

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distinguish those notes which have a stress laid on them in singing the tune, from the lighter connecting notes, that serve merely, like grammar articles, to tack the others together. That we have a most perfect idea of a sound just past, I might appeal to all acquainted with music, who know how easy it is to repeat a sound in the same pitch with one just heard. In tuning an instrument, a good ear can as easily determine that two strings are in unison, by sounding them separately, as by sounding them together; their disagreement is also as easily, I believe I may say more easily and better distinguished when sounded separately; for when sounded together, though you know by the

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of the musical sense, they will all equally understand and relish it; for it speaks an universal language.——*Nota,* Since writing the above, having examined the late edition of Dr Franklin's *Works,* (published in 1806), I find these remarks on the Scottish music inserted there, with the addition of an observation very much akin to the above, regarding the mechanical impression on the *tympanum;* which is farther illustrated by the analogous impression made on the visual nerves by luminous objects, which continues for a while after the eyes are shut.—See FRANKLIN'S *Works,* vol. ii. p. 340.

beating*, that one is higher than the other, you cannot tell which it is. —— Farther, when we consider by whom these ancient tunes were composed, and how they were first performed, we shall see that such harmonical succession of sounds was natural and even necessary in their construction. They were composed by the minstrels of those days, to be played on the harp accompanied by the voice. The harp was strung with wire, and had no contrivance, like that in the modern harpsichord, by which the sound of a preceding note could be stopt the moment a succeeding note began. To avoid *actual* discord, it was therefore necessary, that the succeeding emphatic note should be a chord with the preceding, as their sounds must exist at the same

* The writer means the undulating sound which is produced when two notes are very nearly, but not perfectly in unison. In the deep-toned bass-notes of an organ, this sound resembles the beat of a drum; and the kettle-drum stop in large organs is nothing more than this very contrivance of two great pipes not perfectly in unison, made to sound together.

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time. Hence arose that beauty in those tunes that has so long pleased, and will please for ever, though men scarce know why. That they were originally composed for the harp, and of the most simple kind, I mean a harp without any half notes, but those in the natural scale, and with no more than two octaves of strings from C to C, I conjecture from another circumstance which is, that not one of those tunes really ancient has a single artificial half-note in it; and that in tunes where it was most convenient for the voice, to use the middle note of the harp, and place the key in F, there the B, which if used, should be a B flat, is always omitted by passing over it with a third. The connoisseurs in modern music will say I have no taste,—but I cannot help adding, that I believe our ancestors, in hearing a good song distinctly articulated, sung to one of those tunes, and accompanied by the harp, felt more real pleasure than is communicated by the generality of modern operas, exclusive of that arising from the scenery and dancing. Most tunes of late composition not having the natural harmony united with their melody, have re-

course to the artificial harmony of a bass and other accompanying parts. This support, in my opinion, the old tunes do not need, and are rather confused than aided by it. Whoever has heard *James Oswald* play them on his violoncello, will be less inclined to dispute this with me. I have more than once seen tears of pleasure in the eyes of his auditors; and yet I think even his playing those tunes would please more, if he gave them less modern ornament *.

* That these observations are dictated by good taste, we may presume from their agreement with the opinions of one who was an exquisite judge of the subject. "The Scottish "songs, when sung in the genuine, natural manner, must "affect the heart of every person of feeling, whose taste is "not vitiated by fashion and novelty. As they are the effu- "sions of genius, and devoid of art, they bid defiance to "artificial graces and affected cadences. To a sweet, liquid, "flowing voice, capable of swelling a note from the softest to "the fullest tone, and what the Italians call a *voce di petto*, "must be joined sensibility and feeling, and a perfect un- "derstanding of the subject and words of the song, so as to "know the significant word, on which to swell or soften the "tone, and lay the force of the note. From a want of "knowledge of the language, it generally happens, that to "most of the foreign masters, our melodies at first seem "wild and uncouth; for which reason, in their performance

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"My son, when we parted, desired me to present his affectionate respects to you, Lady Kames, and your amiable children: be so good with those, to accept mine, and believe me, with sincerest esteem, my dear Lord, &c.

B. FRANKLIN."

"*P. S.* I do promise myself the pleasure of seeing you and my other friends in Scotland, before I return to America."

"they generally fall short of our expectation.—It is a com-
"mon defect in some who pretend to sing, to affect to smo-
"ther the words, by not articulating them, so as we scarce
"can find out either the subject or language of the song.
"This is always a sign of want of feeling, and the mark of a
"bad singer, particularly of Scottish songs, where there is
"generally so intimate a correspondence between the air and
"the subject. Indeed, there can be no good vocal music
"without it.—The proper accompaniment of a Scottish song,
"is a plain, thin, dropping bass, on the harpsichord, or gui-
"tar. The fine breathings, those heart-felt touches which
"genius alone can express in our songs, are lost in a noisy
"accompaniment of instruments. The full chords of a
"thorough bass, should be used sparingly, and with judg-
"ment, not to overpower, but to support and raise the voice
"at proper pauses." *Dissertation on the Scottish Music, by* WILLIAM TYTLER, *Esq. in the Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.*

CHAPTER II.

Succession to the Estate of Blair-Drummond. — Lord Kames's Agricultural improvements. — Extraordinary plan of improvement on the Moss of Kincardine.—His plans of Gardening.—Correspondence with Mrs Montagu.

CHAP. II.

Succession to the estate of Blair-Drummond.

In the year 1766, Lord Kames received a very large addition to his income, by the succession to the estate of Blair-Drummond, which devolved on his wife by the death of her brother George Drummond, Esq. This event was attended with no other change on his part than the extension of his schemes of benevolence and public spirit. To the honour of his Lady, who brought him this great accession of fortune, it is but just to mention, that, confining herself with admirable discretion to her domestic duties, and to the regulation of a more ample household, she was never known to interfere in

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the most trifling particular with her husband's management of this estate, which though devised to her and to her heirs, under the limitations of a strict entail, she left him to conduct with as little controul as if it had been his paternal inheritance.

His agricultural improvements.

The seasons of vacation were now spent at Blair-Drummond, where he began to execute a variety of agricultural improvements on an extended scale, which, while they set a great example for the imitation of the neighbouring landholders, have proved of the most solid and permanent benefit to the proprietor and to his heirs. He had gained much useful experience in the cultivation of his estate of Kames; and the same modes of husbandry in the raising of green crops, of sown grasses, summer-fallowing, and other practices of English agriculture, which he had successfully introduced in the county of Berwick, were now transferred to his new possessions, and prosecuted with great vigour and perseverance.

Extraordinary plan of improvement on the Moss of Kincardine.

Among these plans of improvement was one of a nature so extraordinary, as to be generally regarded at first as a chimerical

project, which must either have been abandoned after a short experiment, or if persevered in, attended with the most serious loss to the undertaker. Yet this project, of which the apparent difficulties would have deterred a weaker spirit, was the result of the most sagacious foresight, and founded on the surest principles; and it has turned out to advantage far surpassing the most sanguine views of its contriver.

The Moss of Kincardine, which is a level swamp of about four miles in length, and from one to two miles in breadth, is situated between the rivers Forth and Teith, immediately above their confluence. It contains about 2000 Scots acres, of which 1500 belong to the estate of Blair-Drummond, and had lain for ages in a state utterly waste and useless, unless for the supply of peat-fuel to the adjoining cottagers. The *stratum* of moss which covered this great tract of land was on an average from eight to nine feet in thickness; and it was known from the quality of the surrounding lands, which form a part of the same sur-

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face over which the moss is superinduced, that under this *stratum* there was a soil of rich clay and vegetable mould, which in some former period of time had been covered with forest timber. Lord Kames's project was nothing less, than to remove entirely this immense body of moss, by floating it into the Forth by means of channels or ditches cut through it into the river; and thus to bring into use the valuable soil which lay under it, and was fit for all the purposes of agriculture. Of this bold undertaking he first ascertained the practicability by making experiments upon a small scale, and he gradually extended his operations as he found them completely successful. The scheme was attended with no risk upon his part, as the land in its natural state was wholly unproductive; and the planters or moss-tenants whom he engaged in the undertaking, received no other premium for the labour of clearing their little farms, than the holding them rent-free for a few years. He lived to see about one-third of this great tract of land perfectly cleared, and yielding a rent in proportion to the value of the soil brought into tillage.

Since his death, these operations have been prosecuted by his son Mr Drummond-Home, on a scale yet more extensive; and are now brought nearly to a conclusion, by which a permanent addition of a great extent of valuable soil, now peopled with industrious inhabitants, is gained to this estate, and to the country *.

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* This valuable improvement is mentioned with deserved encomium by Dr Walker, in his MS. *Report on the State of the Highlands and Islands.* "Each person" (says he) "has "a lot of eight acres of the moss assigned to him by lease "for thirty-eight years, with a proper quantity of timber to "build a house, and two bolls of oatmeal to support him "while rearing it. For the first seven years, he pays no "rent; the eighth year, he pays one merk Scots; the ninth "year, two merks; and so on, with the addition of a merk "yearly, till the end of the first nineteen years. On the "commencement of the second nineteen years, he begins to "pay a yearly rent of 12s. for each acre of land cleared from "moss, and 2s. 6d. for each acre that is not cleared. Upon "these terms, this extensive tract, which scarce ever before "could feed any thing but a *moorfowl*, and was of no value "to the proprietor, is now peopled with 620 inhabitants, who "raise valuable crops of grain, beside other productions. "From mean hovels, they have now got into good brick "houses. They have cattle and carriages in abundance, and "form a colony of industrious, virtuous and happy people." —The writer adds an observation well deserving of atten-

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Plans of gardening.

While prosecuting with ardour these material improvements of his estate, he carried

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tion: "There is not a considerable landholder in the High-"lands of Scotland, who has not a much greater extent of "waste land than the Moss of Kincardine, which might all "be improved in a similar manner; but with more ease, "and at far less expence. In any trial to be made in this "way, there was a rule adopted by Lord Kames, and follow-"ed by his son, which it would be material to observe. "Every tenant in the moss has the liberty of selling his "lease, provided he enters on the cultivation of a new pos-"session. This liberty has been of great advantage, both to "the settlers, and to the progress of the improvement. "Many of them, after their lots were cleared and brought "into culture, have sold their leases to considerable advan-"tage, and have entered on the improvement of new posses-"sions with fresh vigour.——Of all the proposals made for "the improvement of agriculture in the Highlands, there "seems to be none so simple, so practicable, so inexpensive, "so effectual, and of such general utility, as that which is "suggested in the above observations."

Since the date of Dr Walker's Report, the improvement of the moss has proceeded rapidly. In the end of summer 1805, the number of acres cleared and rendered arable, was 606, the houses of the planters 169, and the number of the inhabitants 720.

A particular account of this useful undertaking, from its commencement through the whole of its progress, and an ample detail of the process for clearing away the moss, and the machinery employed in it, are to be found in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, under the article *Moss*.

on at the same time many plans of embellishment, suggested by those great features of natural beauty and magnificence which the surrounding scenery exhibits. In the latter operations, he was aided by the good taste of Mrs Drummond, who took great pleasure in ornamental gardening, and was peculiarly skilful in the culture of curious plants and flowers. It was here he carried into execution the plan of a winter-garden, which he had suggested in his *Elements of Criticism* *.

* "In a hot country," (he remarks) "it is a capital object, "to have what may be termed a *summer-garden*, that is, a "space of ground disposed by art and by nature to exclude the "sun, but to give free access to the air. In a cold country, "the capital object should be a *winter-garden*, open to the "sun, sheltered from wind, dry under foot, and having the "appearance of summer by a variety of evergreens. The "relish of a country life is extinguished in France, and is "decaying fast in Britain. But as still a few people of fashion, "and some of taste, pass the winter, or part of it, in the "country, it is amazing that winter-gardens should be al-"most totally overlooked. During summer, every field is "a garden; but for six months of the year, the weather is "seldom so good in Britain, as to afford comfort in the open "air without shelter, and yet seldom so bad as not to afford "comfort with shelter."—*Elements of Criticism*, vol. ii. p. 448.

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Correspondence with Mrs Montagu.

Mrs MONTAGU, the elegant author of an *Essay on the Writings and Genius of Shakespeare* *, in a tour she made to the Highlands in the autumn of 1766, spent some days at Blair-Drummond. After her return to her country-seat in Northumberland, Lord Kames thus addresses her, in a letter dated 29th October 1766:

To Mrs MONTAGU.

"On no one thing at present is my heart more bent than to have Mrs Montagu's good opinion; and although I imagined I could write to her with as much ease as I could make her a visit at her old castle of Denton-Hall, yet when it came to the trial, my heart failed me, and I put the business off from day to day, till I came to be troubled in mind with a spectre, that appeared in the shape of neglected duty.—

* Daughter of Mathew Robinson, Esq. of West Layton in Yorkshire, and Monk's-Horton near Hythe in Kent, sister to the late Lord Rokeby, and cousin to the first Lord Rokeby, the Primate of Ireland. She was married to Edward Montagu, Esq. of Denton in Northumberland, whom she survived many years, and whose ample fortune she inherited. She died at the age of 80, August 25. 1800.

Unless for this powerful call, I blush to own, that probably I should have fallen a sacrifice to that contemptible virtue called bashfulness.—

" On the 10th day of September last, I saw Mrs Montagu carried off corporally in a post-chaise from Blair-Drummond: and yet strange to say she has been the chief of our *dramatis personæ* ever since. In my solitary walks she has never ceased to be my faithful companion, and has inspired me with most valuable hints for my rural embellishments. Follows a sketch of some of them. You'll probably remember the long polished walk along the side of the river. That walk is to be extended over a great variety of ground, and to take in a variety of objects, so as to make a circuit of not less than four miles. One part is enchanting: the road sinks imperceptibly into a hollow, originally the bed of a river, lined on both sides with high banks covered with wood, which hides every object from the sight, but the sky. Emerging into open day-light, the first object that strikes the eye is the

BOOK III. noble Castle of Stirling, situated on a rock, wild and romantic.

" A rill of water runs neglected through the fields, obscured by pretty high banks. It is proposed that the water be raised in different places by stone buildings imitating natural rocks, which will make some beautiful cascades. The banks to be planted with flowering shrubs, and access to the whole by gravel paths. The groupe will produce a mixture of sweetness and liveliness, which makes fine harmony in *gardening* as well as in *life* *.

There is a mass of wood, as you will recollect, near the house of at least six or seven acres, grown up by neglect to an impenetrable thicket. I ordered a path to be made in it, and on my return from the circuit, was agreeably surprised to find a great variety of pleasing heights and hollows

* The writer, it is to be observed, is here indulging his imagination in projected schemes of embellishment; some of which, from a change of taste, and the adoption of other plans of improvement, were not carried into execution.

which had lain quite concealed. I propose this for a *winter-garden*; sand-walks to be carried through it in all directions; and a variety of evergreens will afford shelter, verdure and dry-footing all the winter over. I enjoy this spot even by anticipation, the scene of many amusing thoughts with a sensible companion, and of meditation when alone.

" But amongst my other plans. I have not forgot the spot pitched upon by you for a seat; and because every thing belonging to you should have something peculiar, the bottom to be free from wet, is contrived to fold up, and to have for its ornament a plate of brass with this inscription, " Rest, and " contemplate the beauties of art and Na- " ture."

" Did you never observe that those naturally the most bashful, become by habit the most forward. The effort to surmount an obstacle gives an impulse that carries one to the opposite extreme. This is at present the case with your humble servant; for now he says, that were you ever so fatigued you

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must listen a little longer. A new edition of the *Elements of Criticism* is demanded, and, if you approve, I will add some remarks to the following purpose. In things merely ornamental, nothing can do better than to copy the works of Nature. Hence the beauty of Chinese paper, imitating plants and flowers, flowered silks, &c. But in things made for use, the parts ought to be so constructed as to answer precisely their purpose. Such things, it is true, may admit of ornament; but the constituent parts and the ornaments ought not to be jumbled together. I admit, for example, carved work on a chair, representing leaves or flowers; but what is the meaning of giving feet to a chair representing those of a lion, or of an eagle? What do you think of teaspoons made to imitate the leaf of a tree? A leaf is of all things the least proper for a spoon. And does not there lie the same objection against a fabric for holding candles, composed of artificial branches and leaves, with artificial birds sitting upon them? I will not dissemble, that my purpose in these questions is to draw you by degrees into a critical correspondence. Would it be too

much for me to hope for your assistance in the intended new edition of the *Elements?* I should be proud to have your name conjoined with mine in that work.

" It is needless to fatigue you with explaining what has prevented my intended visit to Denton-Hall at this time: several circumstances have made it impracticable. I do not despair of seeing you at London. But, at any rate, you are bound in gratitude to employ the first opportunity upon another visit to Blair-Drummond, considering the changes that are to be made, and the money to be laid out upon your account. If we once get you there again, you shall not so easily escape as at first. Your landlady remarked on your departure, " Mrs " Montagu seems to be in a great hurry." Perhaps not, said I; but I did not care to press her, as I know you are not fond of new faces.—" A most unlucky mistake," replied she; " for I know not such an agreeable " woman, or so comfortable a companion: " I could pass my life with her."—And the same would be the taste of, Madam, your

BOOK III. devoted servant; I hope in time to merit the appellation of your faithful friend,

HENRY HOME."

Mrs MONTAGU *to Lord* KAMES.

" *Denton, November* 4. 1766.

" MY LORD,

" I never knew a wise and celebrated person who was not afraid to write a letter to a trifling correspondent; for when such a man looks down from the summit of his wisdom, and the pinnacle of his reputation, upon so low and minute an object as a common letter, his head begins to turn, and his sight to grow unsteady. So, Sir, take the pains and the penalties, with the painful pre-eminence of your elevation; whilst I, who am on a level with such matters, enjoy the pleasure of writing without fear or wit, and the honour of corresponding with one who writes with both. Happily, whatever flows from the heart goes most directly to the obtaining of that friendship you so kindly offer, and I am so desirous to establish.

"I remember perfectly the walk your Lordship mentions, and all the beauties of that sweet place. It is happy for a person of your taste, to find in his morning's walk, the pastoral, the epic, and the tragic beauties. The gently murmuring river, the shady banks, the beautiful pastures, the noble Castle of Stirling, rising in the pride of impregnable strength, defying force and time; and the ruined castle of the Regent*, which brings to mind the *tale of other times*, the catastrophe of ambition, and the downfal of greatness, suggest the soft and tender, the sublime and the melancholy ideas, and exercise the various powers and affections of the soul. Where there is this happy assemblage of poetic and romantic beauties, so properly adapted to his genius, we will sit and read the charming poet, who sings of

Le Donne, i cavalieri, l'arme, gli amori,
Le cortesie, l'audaci imprese.

* *Doune Castle*, the seat of James, Earl of Murray, the bastard brother of Mary, Queen of Scots; Regent of Scotland, by the deposition of his sister; - afterwards assassinated by Hamilton of Bothwell-haugh, in revenge of a personal injury.

" I approve [illegible] lordship's scheme of making a *winter-garden*. We are apt to do in our gardens, as we do in our minds; to cultivate the gay ornaments of the summer season, and aim at having all those things which flourish by mild sunshine, and gracious dews; forgetful of the rude elements of human life, and regardless of the seasons of unfriendly and churlish weather, when sun-beams warm no more, and chilling hoar-frosts fall. Sage is the gardener who procures a friendly shelter of evergreens to protect him from December storms, and cultivates the winter-plants that adorn and enliven the dreary season. He is but half a philosopher, who, when the gardens of Epicurus are out of bloom, cannot retire into the Stoic's walk; and he is too much one, who would rigidly prohibit the gay flowers and sweet aromatics of the summer, and sit always under the cypress-shade: So I expect to find the roses and carnations at Blair-Drummond in June, as well as the snow-drop and cyclamen in December. Your winter-garden will be a moral lesson, as well as a pleasant walk for your posterity, recommending to their

cultivation, unfading merits and faithful friends *. CHAP. II.

" I am very glad there is going to be a new edition of the *Elements of Criticism*, as I hope the work will be enlarged. Your Lordship does me very unmerited honour, in wishing my name joined to yours in that work; it would be like setting the impression of my silver *thimble* beside the *broad-seal* of England.

" I agree entirely with your Lordship, that in things of use, the ornamental part should be subordinate, and the propriety and fitness to its purpose should be apparent. The feet of a chair should express steadiness and firmness. A claw, whether of lion or eagle, is absurd; as the business of it is not to snatch or tear, but to support. Foliages round the frame of a chair or table, are not improper, they adorn the form,

* Lord Kames inserted these observations with some alterations, in a note in the new edition of *Elements of Criticism*.

without perverting [illegible] such ornaments are so natural, we may suppose, that in the ages of simplicity, in honour of extraordinary guests, or to add a gaiety to feasts, flowers and branches were put on them. We have fine gothic buildings in this country, and we have imported Grecian and Roman architecture; but in regard to *les meubles*, we are still in a very barbarous state *. I think I could explain why we are so, if my letter was not already too long, to admit of tracing these things to their sources: so I shall only observe, that the old Goths loved punning, and their most polite descendants are addicted to *concetti*. The tea-leaf imitated in a tea-spoon, is most absurd; but in the infancy and decline of taste, the imagination sports with resemblances, relations and analogies; too weak to form a complete design, it pursues some hint given by the nature of the thing to be

* The taste for what is commonly called *Etruscan*, but is truly *Greek*, ornament, had not then been introduced by Sir William Hamilton's importation of ancient vases, or the publication of the magnificent works from the press of the King of Naples.

adorned. I do not know whether I express myself intelligibly, but I mean something, though I am puzzled to communicate that meaning: I may say, as a certain French author does, however, *Si je ne m'entends pas, je me devine* *.

" I am more than vain, I am proud of Mrs Drummond's partiality. I desire your Lordship to keep up my interest in that Lady. She has so perfectly gained my esteem, that I should be grieved and mortified to lose any share of hers which she ever honoured me with. I had the honour

* The Lady expresses her meaning with great perspicuity. But even in an age of refined taste, an inventive fancy may sport itself capriciously without offence in works where show is combined with utility. Some of the Etruscan utensils, (as their lamps), are fantastical in the highest degree, both in their forms and decorations; and the taste is not to be condemned, if it gives innocent amusement. A silver cream-pot in the form of a cow, which receives its contents by an opening in the back, and discharges them at the mouth, is not the most convenient form for its office, nor has the device much consonance to nature; but if the utensil performs its purpose tolerably, and the workmanship is excellent, we do not admire it the less for the conceit.

of a most polite and [illegible] from her. I desire my most respectful compliments to her. I am rejoiced to find your Lordship thinks of being in London this winter. I hope Mrs Drummond and your son will be of the party.——I am, with great esteem, my Lord, &c. &c.

ELIZ. MONTAGU."

From Mrs MONTAGU *to Lord* KAMES.——*Extract of a Letter, Dated Denton, December* 12. 1766.

——"I see by the date of your Lordship's letter, you are got to Edinburgh, from whence I suppose you will sometimes make a trip to your winter-garden. Perhaps there is not any thing more delightful than escaping from the bustle of society to the quiet of solitude; unless it be the returning to society, after having been long confined to solitude. If I was assured your Lordship would not draw an inference from it to my disadvantage, I would own to you, that the transitions from the town to the country, and from the country to the town,

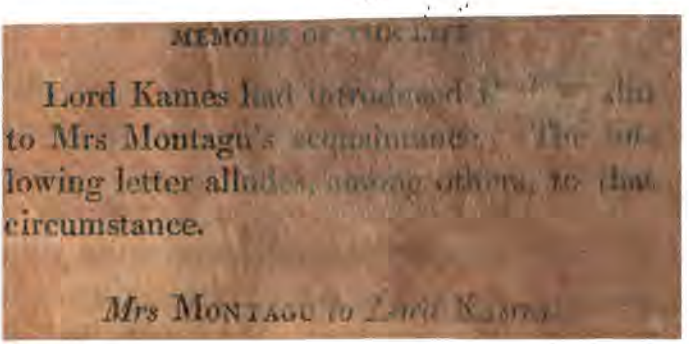
are inexpressibly delightful to me. Different powers of the mind are exercised in the different situations; so pray do not entirely impute this taste in me to levity. I imagine a pedlar would be extremely pleased at first if he was made a king, and from measuring tape and counting needles, was exalted to balancing the interests of empires, and considering the arduous affairs of government; till, finding how little his speculations improved the state of the world, and that his most earnest thoughts ended often in ineffectual schemes, he would wish to return to an employment in which he could realize his intentions, and find his capacity on a level with his business. This is just the case of every human creature who is not engaged in some profession or important situation. In the world we carry about the small wares of social life, are very busy, and a little useful. The inherent dignity of the soul makes it sometimes disdain these petty occupations, and love to retire into the proud state of meditation. There it enters into the operations of Omnipotence, and the views of Infinite Wisdom; looks with delight through the infinite gra-

dations of beauty, and with amazement round the boundless system of creation: it exults at feeling itself an intelligent spectator of such a majestic scene; and in the arrogance of its reasonings, and the pride of its reveries, wonders how it could ever condescend to the low commerce of ordinary life, and says to itself, I will for the future dream in state. But *Alma*, by the mother's side, a poor mechanic, satiated with the long idleness of a summer's holiday, again cries out for her shop and her tools, leaves to abstracted beings the life of meditation, and wisely says, her business lies chiefly where she can add to the comfort and happiness of her fellow-creatures. However, my Lord, do not imagine that I think less than you do, that a pleasing retirement may improve the virtue of your posterity, by drawing them sometimes from busy to contemplative life. In a sweet retirement, I imagine the mind keeps time to the music of the spheres; its movements are not affected by prejudices or bad examples, but keep even and true measure with reason, and its appointed duties. In the bustle of the world we are often impelled to what is wrong, diverted

from what is right, and carried about in the whirl of fashion and predominant opinions. CHAP. II.

" I am interested in every thing at Blair-Drummond: pray let me know every vista that you open, and every shade that you cherish for meditation. About two months hence I shall think with greater rapture of your winter-garden: at present, to own the truth, I am longing for my pedlar's pack. I have been so long in retirement, that I shall go with great *goût* to every fair and market idleness and vanity shall open. I hope to set out for London in about ten days or a fortnight at farthest.

" Your Lordship does me great honour; but my name is not designed for immortality. I beg of you to present my most affectionate and respectful compliments to Mrs Drummond. I shall hope to be honoured with her commands when I get to London, and trust that she will employ me in all her commissions; because no one will have so much pleasure in executing them. ——With great esteem, I am, my Lord, &c. &c. E. MONTAGU."



Lord Kames had introduced him to Mrs Montagu's acquaintance. The following letter alludes, among others, to that circumstance.

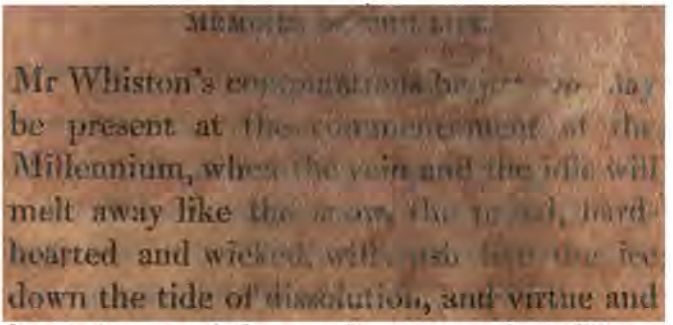
Mrs MONTAGU *to Lord* KAMES.

" MY LORD, *Hill-Street,*

" *February* 11. 1767.

" From the consciousness and confidence of friendship, I delayed answering your last letter till this very moment, for I waited till I could find health and leisure together: the one rarely visits, and the other never abides with me. I am convinced, that we have been acquainted in a state of pre-existence; I do not know when, nor indeed where: whether we first met on the orb of this Earth, had a short coquetry in the planet Venus, or a sober platonic love in Saturn; but I am sure we did not first meet at Edinburgh in the year 1766; therefore, those doubts that would be pardonable in a new friendship cannot become us. Your Lordship may remember our souls did not stand like strangers at a distance, making formal obeisances: the first evening

we supped together at our friend Dr Gregory's, we took up our story, where it had perhaps ended some thousand years before the creation of this globe: if we gave it a prefatory compliment, it was only the customary form to the new edition of a work before published. I am extremely flattered, that, though invisible, I was one of your Christmas guests at Blair-Drummond. I often endeavoured to imagine how your cascades looked when they were fixed in icicles, your rivers turned to solid crystal, and Ben-Lomond's brown sides were glittering with snow; but I had not the presumption to think I could imagine what such a society were saying, so that I was deprived of the best part of the pleasure of the party. I think your Lordship was unlucky that you did not stay in the country till the thaw: the torrents from the mountains, the deluged plains, the ice crackling, and rushing down the rivers, and the cascades breaking their crystal bands, must have been a fine sight, and what you and I should have been delighted to have seen together, though perhaps heretofore we were joint spectators of Deucalion's flood; and if



integrity stand fast as the mountains. However, in spite of all we have seen, or may see, I should have been very glad to have beheld the thaw in your majestic prospects. Our highest hills were a school-boy's snow-ball in respect of Ben-Lomond.

" You will perhaps expect I should send you some of the politics of the times, from our great city; but I don't understand politics, and I cannot so much as read politicians. I have been used only to read right forward, and the Hebrew text and the politician's mind are to me unintelligible. Your Lordship may be assured I shall be very glad to be introduced to any person who has the honour and happiness of your esteem. I am not a stranger to the character of Dr Franklin, though not personally acquainted with him.

The muses are the only virgins now that do not appear in public every day; but they are prodigiously coy. Mr Glover's muse is a beautiful Greek, but as she does not speak in the vulgar tongue, she dares not come upon the stage; she only addresses herself to the learned in their closets. Voltaire sent a tragedy to Paris, which he said was composed in ten days. The players sent it back to him to correct. At threescore and ten, one should not expect his wit would outrun his judgment; but he seems to begin a second infancy in wit and philosophy; a dangerous thing to one who has such an antipathy to leading-strings.

" I beg my most respectful compliments to Mrs Drummond and Mr Home: assure Mrs Drummond that I have not forgot her commands; and I hope I shall acquit myself in such a manner as to the *epargne*, as to be trusted for other commissions. I have also seen her *girandoles*, which I like extremely; but I have proposed a little alteration at the top. If she would have any thing *en meubles* extremely beautiful, she

must employ my friend Mr Robert Ad[illegible]. He has made me a ceiling and chimney-piece, and doors, which are pretty enough to make me a thousand enemies. Every turns livid at the first glimpse of them. I beg of your Lordship to make my compliments to my friends at Edinburgh, and assure them I retain a grateful remembrance of their politeness to me there. I am, with great esteem, my Lord, &c. &c.

E. MONTAGU."

Lord KAMES *to Mrs* MONTAGU.

" *Edinburgh, March* 6. 1767.

" I love to converse with Mrs Montagu: I love to write to her: Sorry I am that the latter only is in my power. In gratifying my own inclination, however, I shall be so

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* It is a derogation from the merits of Mr ROBERT ADAM to mention him only as excelling in the taste for ornaments. He was a great architect, as his works bear testimony; a man of science and of great natural taste; and he possessed that enthusiasm in his favourite art, which is the characteristic of true genius. See an instructive letter of his to Lord Kames, on the subject of architecture, at NO. II. of the Appendix to this Volume.

much upon my guard as to avoid persecution; and the plan I propose to follow, is not to write merely from inclination, without having at the same time some good pretext. My pretext at present is to recommend to you a book lately published here, and which probably has reached the shop of Andrew Millar, entitled, *An Essay on the History of Civil Society.* This subject, not less beautiful than interesting, employs some vigour in writing, and much original thought. Besides tracing minutely the history of society from its dawn in the savage state to its meridian lustre of civilization, sciences and arts, it has a further aim, which is, to wean us from selfishness and luxury, the reigning characteristics at present of all commercial nations, and to restore the manly passions of heroism, generosity, and love of our species. The aim is noble; but the disease, I doubt, is too far advanced to be cured by any characters that can be formed with ink. The book will amuse you, and you will think yourself obliged to me for putting it into your hands. At the same time, I don't say it is without faults: but

of perfect health. It requires too much attention even for Mrs M. when in any degree indisposed. Your hints, though very slight, of want of health, alarm me. You ought to be immortal; because there are some persons, rare indeed, who cannot be replaced; but that soul of yours, active and vigorous, is enough to wear out any body, not to talk of a delicate female constitution.

" Nothing would give me greater satisfaction than a prospect of many subjects for correspondence; and that of recommending books may be both pleasant and profitable; and I am certain it would give me double pleasure to peruse any book recommended by you. It is a great waste of time to read every book at random; and both of us know the value of our time too well to be spendthrifts of it.—You have inflamed the curiosity of my spouse, by mentioning the taste of Mr Adam in ornamenting one of your

rooms. You can make her happy in the description, and I know you love to make your friends happy. Yours, with zeal and affection, HENRY HOME."

Mrs MONTAGU *to Lord* KAMES.

" *March the 24th* 1767.

" I am vain that your Lordship thought me worthy of Mr Fergusson's work. I had indeed got it from Lord Shelburne, before it was to be sold at the booksellers, so had read it before I had your letter. The character of the author, and the subject of the book, made me very impatient for it. I approve extremely of Mr Fergusson in the preference he gives to the magnanimous virtues, above the effeminate and luxurious arts of modern life; and wish he could infuse into us some of that Spartan spirit he admires so justly. At the same time, if he learnt the practice of virtue at Sparta, it was at Athens he was taught to make it doctrine. A Lacedemonian might have said, when he swallowed his black broth, as Alexander did in his ambitious enterprize, What

BOOK III. do I suffer that the Athenians may praise me! Had not the latter perpetuated its memory, the temperance of the former, like their broth, had diffused its salubrious effects only through a few individuals, and a few centuries. What had remained of Spartan patriotism for an example to other countries, and other ages, if the same system had prevailed all over Greece? It was happy for them that Xenophon and Plato were not their fellow-citizens; it was happy for the world they were not so. Now, is that state upon a perfectly right foundation where wisdom and virtue are mortal? However, as we Britons are in much more danger of becoming Sybarites than Lacedemonians, it is very meritorious in Mr Fergusson to endeavour to preserve the native fire of courage and magnanimity in the human breast; for in *these piping times of peace*, like gunpowder at the conclusion of a war, being no longer necessary to combat our enemies, it is wasted in idle fire-works and childish festivity.——I cannot express to your Lordship the pleasure and delight with which I read this elegant work of Mr Fergusson; but as my admiration can do

him little honour, I will give you who are his friend the pleasure of knowing it is admired and approved by all persons of judgment in literature, or who have that nobler taste, the love of virtue.

"Your Lordship is very good to feel any solicitude about my health. It is far from perfect, but is better than it used to be. I had for ten years the most terrible state of health imaginable; it has been mending gradually and gently these ten years last past, and is now such as one inured to suffering and sickness thinks delightful, one unused to illness might think miserable. The constant cheerfulness of my spirits has put me on a level, in point of happiness, with the most healthy and robust, so that I think of my lot with thankfulness. I am, my Lord, &c. &c.

E. Montagu."

Lord KAMES *to Mrs* MONTAGU.

" *Blair-Drummond*,
" *April* 16. 1767.

" MY DEAR MADAM,

" I have endeavoured to do Mr Fergusson a pleasure by your elegant epistle, which is upon the road to him with my compliments, and he will make it most hospitably welcome. I wish I had as good reason to be pleased; but you behave to me like a buskin'd Queen acting a capital part in a capital play, without once admitting me behind the scenes into any degree of ease or familiarity. The Professor is the only subject; not a word of my concerns; not a word even of your own, (I suppose because they are mine likewise), your health, your amusements, the company you keep, the books you read, or whether you be as much regarded in your own country as you are here. I think I perceive you smiling; and you have some reason: you have discovered the cloven foot, a rivalship between the two authors. I confess the fact; but being

too lazy to burn and begin again, I proceed in the same tone. When I had the happiness of seeing you in Scotland, I ventured one day to suggest to you a short performance of mine, an *Essay on the Principles of Morality.* But I suddenly dropt the subject, being afraid it was too abstruse and dry for my lively friend. Of late I have taken up a fond conceit, that no subject is above or beyond her comprehension, and therefore I renew my hint; and I have at present an addititional incitement, which is, that my friend F. if he has failed any where, is most deficient in that part of his work where he handles the Principles of Morality. My Essay was too small to be printed by itself*: it is prefixed to the second edition of a law-book, termed *Principles of Equity,* to be found at Millar's shop; but which you may borrow from any of your acquaintance

* The Essay on the *Principles of Morality,* which was prefixed to the second edition of *Principles of Equity,* was left out in the third and subsequent editions of that work, the author having republished it in a more complete form, in his *Sketches of the History of Man.*

BOOK III.

learned in the law; for a fine Lady would blush to have a law-book make part of her library. I know not whether the principles of this Essay may turn the balance on my side; but in one way I hope always to deserve your favour, which is, by imitating you in every good and social principle, to the best of my power. Yours, &c.

HENRY HOME."

"*P. S.* The *epargne* is arrived, and it is charming. I never saw a piece of workmanship to which the term *elegant* can be more properly applied. Mrs Drummond is delighted with it.—Now that I have got your letter upon *ornaments*, I think I have a pretty good stock of materials for an episode upon that subject in the next edition of the *Elements*, in which I shall most impudently borrow from your Ladyship.—"But hark, the cock does crow me hence!" The coach is waiting."

Mrs MONTAGU *to Lord* KAMES.

"MY LORD,

"*Sandleford, May* 9. 1767.

"I am rejoiced to find I have pleased

Mrs Drummond and your Lordship in the *epargne*; but you have disappointed me terribly about my notable letter on the subject of ornament. I was in hopes it would have given occasion to a paper-war between us. I imagined you would laugh at me, quarrel with me, rally me, confute me, and do every thing but what no disputant ever does with his antagonist, convince me; but instead of that, you are mighty silent, and mighty civil; and you put my letter quietly in your pocket; and very politely say, you may hereafter put some of my conjectures into your *Elements of Criticism*: But the muses forbid that my reveries, like poor maggots in amber, should there lie so conspicuously preserved! ***——Your Lordship never mentions Dr Gregory, or of any of my Edinburgh friends. I hope they are all well. I often think of the agreeable society I enjoyed in Scotland, with great pleasure, and as great desire to return to it.——I will chide your Lordship for exposing my nonsense to Mr Fergusson. I don't remember what I said; but as I admired the work, I suppose my observations were at least very harmless. I will get the book your Lordship mentions, CHAP. II.

BOOK III.

when I go to London again. You tell me I am stately and reserved, like an actor performing a capital part in a capital play. Your Lordship is mistaken; I am like a puppet acting a foolish part in a foolish puppet-show. What does any one hear, or say, think or do, read or know, in a London life, worth communicating. * * * * *———Lord Lyttleton desired me, when I last saw him, to beg of your Lordship, who is such a judicious and accurate critic in style, not to read the first edition of his History; as the second will be more correct, and he is ambitious of appearing in the best light to your Lordship. I don't understand all this delicacy. If I were to make a book, I should not care for all the critics that are, or were, or ever should be *. I like the play of *Every Man in his Humour.* Authors should be free to make blunders, and critics to expose them. If I had lands in Parnassus, I

* Mrs Montagu's *Essay on the Genius and Writings of Shakespeare,* was not then published: it did not appear till 1770. She was known however as the writer of some of the best dialogues, in Lord Lyttleton's *Dialogues of the Dead,* printed in 1762.

would not inclose them with wall, pale, sunk fence, or *chevaux de frise*. I would resolve to write a book this moment, if I thought you would write a criticism upon it, and then perhaps they might be bound up together; and then says I, See how we apples swim down the tide of time: however, it strikes eleven, and I wont begin my book to-night, nor swell this letter to a volume; so I will only add my compliments to Mrs Drummond, and that I always am, with perfect regard, my Lord, &c. &c.

E. MONTAGU."

Lord KAMES *to Mrs* MONTAGU.

" *Edinburgh, July* 8. 1767.

". You treat me cruelly, my friend, in giving me a character among your London acquaintance, which I never can hope to support. What else should have led Lord Lyttelton to judge me such a profound critic of style? In short, to preserve my reputation, I must hide myself, and abandon, among others, one of my favourite projects,

BOOK III.

which was the passing some time with you at London, and studying you while acting your part in the great world.

" But now that I have given a little vent to my spleen, (occasioned probably by a cold I have somehow contracted), I find my heart a little lighter. I submit cheerfully to Mrs Montagu's superiority; and I am sensible, that the good she does me, far outweighs the ill. I go no farther for an example than this very morning. We are at present deciding the great *Douglas cause;* and it is expected, that, in a case of such importance, every Judge shall, along with his opinion, give at least a summary of his reasons. In bed this morning, having been feverish in the night, I felt myself weak, dispirited, and without strength or inclination to rise. Why should I kill myself for the sake of others, was my grovelling reflection? A certain friend, whose good opinion I most highly value, came across my thoughts. It immediately struck me, How will that person scorn me for such pusillanimity? I started up, got to the Court in time, delivered my opinion, and my reasons,

more to my own satisfaction than usual; and thank God, I am still alive.—— CHAP. II.

" *15th July* ——

——" I am indeed still alive, and now perfectly well, though weak; for, ever since the former date, I have been confined to bed with the illness I mentioned. By that means I have been forced to put off the principal, or rather the only purpose of my letter, which was to lay down measures for repaying the money you so kindly have advanced for my commissions. ***—— Though I shall always be proud of Mrs Montagu's favours, yet with my good will, the obligations I owe her should be of a rank above any that relate to money.——I am, &c. &c.

HENRY HOME."

Mrs MONTAGU *to Lord* KAMES.

" *Sandleford, July the* 30. 1767.

" MY LORD,

" I am much concerned to hear that you have been so ill. The cause of the orphan,

I dare say, would always animate you; but as your life is valuable to many orphans, you must not hazard yourself too much.

"After having convinced the world by many a volume, that you are a perfect master and judge of style, it is very pleasant that you should attribute an opinion of your being so to me. I think your Lordship will have a great deal of pleasure in reading Lord Lyttleton's History. You will like to see a Gothic building by a Roman architect. The story is Gothic, but expressed with majesty, gravity and force, without any thing dark or rude, or perplexed and confused.

"I suppose that as early as business will allow, your Lordship will retire to Blair-Drummond. There I order you to sit on my bench, and think of me, daily, till I come into Northumberland; and then you are to transfer yourself to Kames, from whence Mrs Drummond and your Lordship may easily make me a visit. My journey to the north is delayed a fortnight longer than I intended, by the marriage of a cousin

of mine, who desires earnestly that I would attend her nuptials; and the gentleman who is to marry her, is very importunate with me to attend the ceremony; as he is a great match for my cousin, I do not know how to refuse his request. The bride and bridegroom are to dine with me on the wedding-day in Hill Street, the 17th of August; so I cannot set out till the 18th or 19th. I shall stay only a day or two in Yorkshire in my way. As your Lordship is in a great hurry to pay your money, be pleased to order it to be paid to Sir George Colebrooke in Threadneedle Street, and into Mrs Montagu's account; Sir George honours my bills when I draw upon him; but as he has never received any money of mine, he knows nothing of me, but that I can spend it. I had the pleasure of seeing Lady Elliot-Murray, the night before she left London; I told her I was very jealous of her, and desired she would not coquette with your Lordship; but I suppose she will not be so generous to an absent rival. I beg my most respectful compliments to Mrs Drummond; and am, with great regard, my Lord, &c. &c. &c.

ELIZ. MONTAGU."

CHAPTER III.

Lord Kames's Pamphlet on the Linen-manufacture in Scotland.—He prompts the great Landholders to encourage Manufactures and Industry.—Project of a Canal between the Forth and Clyde.—Other undertakings of the same kind.—Lord Kames publishes Remarkable Decisions of the Court of Session.—His opinion on the Rupture with America.—Correspondence with Dr Franklin renewed.—Letter from him to Lord Kames, on American affairs.—From the same, on Agricultural and Economical topics.

BOOK III.

Lord Kames's Pamphlet on the Linen Manufacture in Scotland.

In the end of the year 1765, Lord Kames published a small pamphlet on the progress of the Flax-husbandry in Scotland, with the patriotic design of stimulating his countrymen to continue their exertions in a most valuable branch of national industry. The linen-manufacture he shews to be in a progressive state of improvement, from the

time of the institution of the Board of Trustees for the Encouragement of Arts, in the year 1727, and to have increased five-fold within the preceding eighteen years. This improvement he attributes to the judicious measures adopted by that Board, in the bestowing of premiums for the raising of flax, the introduction of easy and cheap machinery for its manufacture, and the procuring a favourable market for the commodity, when completely wrought up. It gives equal pleasure to observe, that this important manufacture has, from the period of which we now speak, been rapidly advancing, so as to promise, in a very short time, to double its amount in the year 1765 *. A principal object of this pamphlet was to shew the expediency of encouraging the culture of flax of the native growth of the

* The progress of the linen-manufacture in Scotland, from the year 1727 to the present time, may be ascertained from the following table, exhibiting the quantities of linen annually stamped for the duty to Government, and the value of those quantities. The account is taken at the interval of ten years from each period for the first sixty years, and at shorter intervals for the succeeding years.

BOOK III.

country. At the time when the pamphlet was written, there was an annual importation of foreign flax to the amount of £110,000 Sterling, to supply our home manufactures. The yearly saving of so large a sum is not the only benefit to be derived from raising the commodity on our own fields. We pay to foreigners much more than the real value of the materials. Besides, they may raise its price at their pleasure, or deprive us of it altogether, and thus throw idle some thousands of industrious manufacturers and artisans. Experience has shewn likewise, that the commo-

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Anno.	*Yards.*	*Value.*
1728	2,183,978	L. 103,212 9 3
1738	4,666,011⅝	185,026 11 9$\frac{67}{72}$
1748	7,353,098½	293,864 12 11$\frac{2}{72}$
1758	10,624,435⅝	424,141 10 7$\frac{2}{72}$
1768	11,795,437	599,669 4 2
1778	13,264,410¼	592,023 3 4¼
1788	20,506,311½	854,900 16 2¾
1792	21,065,386	872,543 14 2½
1796	23,102,404½	906,202 8 4
1802	23,803,255	915,103 17 9½
1805	19,413,057	936,553 6 8¼
1806	21,490,123½	973,171 2 8¼

dity itself, when of home growth, is of a superior quality to the foreign; and experience shews also, that no crop is more valuable to the farmer, or yields a quicker return for the labour and cost of cultivation *.

He prompts the great Landholders to encourage Manufactures and Industry.

But in his laudable endeavours for the promotion of manufactures, Lord Kames did not confine himself to general statements of their utility, or arguments to that effect addressed to the public at large. Availing himself of a most extensive acquaintance with the principal landholders in Scotland, and of the friendships he had formed with many of the chief nobility, whose estates supported an immense population, he endeavoured by every persuasive to stimulate their exertions in diffusing the spirit of industry among their cottagers and dependants. He recommended to them the introduction of such kinds of domestic manufactures, suited to both sexes, as, with-

* The pamphlet on the progress of the Flax-husbandry of Scotland, was reprinted in the *Scots Magazine* for January 1756.

BOOK III.

out any considerable expence or outlay on the part of the proprietors, (the main obstacle to such exertions), would amend the condition and multiply the comforts of their dependants, and thus lay the solid foundation of an increase of their own revenues. Nor were these endeavours without success. Amidst his extensive correspondence, the letters yet remaining from the venerable Charles, Duke of Queensberry, from Thomas, 8th Earl of Kinnoul, and John, 3d Earl of Braidalbane, bear the most honourable testimony, both to the disinterested zeal which counselled, and the liberal and patriotic spirit which adopted those beneficial plans and improvements.

The following letter of Lord Kames to a favourite correspondent, who possessed, in a very high degree, his esteem and affection, is a proof, that even in those moments, usually the least devoted to topics of a serious nature, those beneficent considerations were perpetually present to his mind.

To the Dutchess of GORDON.

" *August* 1770.

" As I never incline to visit my favourite pupil, or to write to her, but when I am at ease and in good spirits, which has not been the case for this last fortnight, worn out as I am with the business of the Court, I delayed to acknowledge her last kind letter, till I should be restored to my spirits in the country, by the wood-nymphs, the water-nymphs, and all the train of the smiling rural deities.

" Your Grace could not do me a greater favour than in communicating the little family anecdote about Lady C., than which nothing can shew a more charming disposition. Dissocial passions are more painful to ourselves than to those who are the objects of them. Selfish passions are disagreeable to others, and very little pleasant to ourselves: but as for the generous and benevolent affections, if they make others hap-

py, they double that blessing upon ourselves. There is no other part of our nature that advances us so near the Author of all good. Cherish, my dear Lady, that disposition in your daughter, because it is highly amiable; but double your diligence to cherish it in your son, who, I hope, will one day have it in his power to do much good, and to find his own chief happiness in making multitudes happy around him.

"The Duke of G. may justly be reckoned the greatest subject in Britain; not from the extent of his rent-roll, but from a much more valuable property, the number of people whom Providence has put under his government and protection. God forbid the Duke should imbibe the sentiments of too many of his elevated rank, that these people are merely beasts of burden, and that it is allowable to squeeze out of them all that can be got. In point of morality, I consider, that the people upon our estates are trusted by Providence to our care, and that we are accountable for our management of them, to the Great God, their Creator, as well as ours. But observe and admire

the benevolence of Providence. What else does it require of us, but to introduce industry among our people, the sure way to make them virtuous and happy, and the way not less sure of improving our estates, and increasing our revenues?

"Now, my dear pupil, I insist upon this topic with the more satisfaction, that I figure your Grace taking an active part in this useful work, and going hand in hand with your husband; if, indeed, it be not better that each of you should take a separate department. I will explain what part I allot to your Grace, after a short preface.

"Travelling through the counties of Aberdeen and Banff with any sort of equipage, it is pleasant to see the young creatures turning out every where from their little cottages, full of curiosity, but not less full of industry; for every one of them is employed; and in knitting stockings, they lose not all the while a single motion of their fingers. This sight I have never beheld without delight. Now, mark what I

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am going to say. There is indeed the same curiosity to be observed upon your banks of the Spey, and through the county of Moray; but alas! the industry is awanting; for the young people go about there perfectly idle.—I fear you will think I am growing a little tedious this evening; for I wish to prolong conversation with your Grace: But now I come to the point.—The part I allot for the Dutchess of Gordon, is to train the young creatures about her to industry; and she will execute it with self-satisfaction and success; for in tender years the strongest impressions are made, and once giving children a habit of industry, it will last with them for life. What I would therefore propose as her first essay, is to introduce the knitting of stockings among the young folk of both sexes; which will be easily done, as that art is so far advanced in her neighbourhood.

" If your Grace relishes this proposal, signify it only to your old Mentor; and it shall be his business not only to lay down a plan for carrying it into effect, but to interest our Trustees for the Manufactures, who

will most cordially second your operations. In the mean time, you may order a fit person to be secured for teaching the children to spin and to knit; and the only thing that will be expected from your Grace, besides your countenance, (which is all in all), is to encourage the children to exert themselves, by some small premiums to those who are the most deserving.

"So much for serious matters; and now to a lighter theme, if my paper leaves room for it. From fifty years experience, I can vouch, that the pleasantest companions for conversation are those who pass some time in their closets, in reading and reflecting. Will you give me authority to purchase for you, from time to time, a few books of taste and useful knowledge, which will agreeably fill up your hours of leisure? Does the Duke give his commissions to any particular bookseller in Edinburgh? In this, and in every capacity, command your real friend and faithful servant,

HENRY HOME."

It was with a sincere pleasure that the

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author of these excellent advices saw that they were not thrown away upon his fair and noble pupil, whose generous mind found its highest delight in increasing the happiness, and extending the comforts, of all within the sphere of her active benevolence. In a letter to her Grace of the 27th June 1777, he thus warmly expresses himself: "I thank God that my best hopes are realized. Your activity, now exerted, on the advancement of agriculture and manufactures in your extensive domains, will be a constant fund of happiness to yourself, and a signal blessing to all your dependants. Go on, and prosper my dear Lady: no good that ever happened to myself, gives me more heart-felt satisfaction."

Project of a Canal between the Forth and Clyde.

Among those plans of national improvement in which Lord Kames, as a Member of the Board of Trustees for the Encouragement of Arts, took a most active concern, was that great and useful project of a *navigable Canal between the rivers Forth and Clyde*. The obvious advantages to the national commerce from such a communication, joining the Atlantic with the British

Sea, had directed the public attention to this measure, at different periods of time. It is said to have been originally suggested by Charles II., and abandoned only from the want of money sufficient for its execution. The project was resumed in 1722, and dropt probably from the same cause. At length, in the years 1762 and 1763, it was taken up by the Board of Trustees in Scotland, on the motion of Mr Baron Mure; and being warmly patronized by Lord Kames, Mr Commissioner Clerk, and others of its leading members, Mr Smeaton, the engineer, was employed to make a survey, with plans and estimates of the work, on various scales of dimensions with respect to depth and breadth. Mr Smeaton's Reports, approved of by the Board, and by the Convention of the Royal Boroughs of Scotland, were jointly recommended by them to the consideration of his Majesty; and, under the sanction of the King's approbation, and the authority of Parliament, the work was begun in 1768, on a scale of fifty-six feet in breadth, and seven in depth; admitting the passage of vessels of 70 or 80 tons burden. It has within these few years been happily

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completed. The expences were defrayed by the subscriptions of individuals, who are to be reimbursed by the tonnage-duties: and Government itself is a subscriber to the amount of £50,000, of which the correspondent dividends or profits do not return into the public Exchequer; but are, with a most liberal spirit, directed to be applied to the further improvement of the country, in the making of roads and bridges in the Highlands of Scotland. The total expences of this great undertaking, amount to above £300,000 Sterling; a sum, which, large as it is, bears no proportion to the certain and permanent benefits which the national commerce must derive from it.

Other undertakings of the same kind.

A first successful experiment is of infinite consequence in promoting the spirit of improvement. Various other plans of inland navigation, upon a smaller scale, but of great benefit, both local and general, have been carried into execution of late years in Scotland; and even at the present time, when an unexampled expenditure has been necessary for the support of the most eventful contest in which Britain ever was engaged,

the *Caledonian Canal*, carried on at the charges of the State, and at a probable expence of not much less than half a million, is an illustrious proof, both of the extent of the national resources, and of that patriotic energy which directs the employment of the public revenue in executing plans which tend ultimately to the improvement and increase of those resources, and strengthen the basis of the national prosperity *.

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* Mr Chalmers has remarked, that in the first fourteen sessions of the present reign, no fewer than seven hundred acts of Parliament were passed, for dividing Commons, inclosing Wastes, and draining Marshes; four hundred and fifty acts for making Roads in different districts; and nineteen acts for the making of artificial Canals; besides others for the improvement and security of Harbours. Of these national improvements Scotland had a large share: and she has well repaid the fostering care of Government. Not to mention the important supplies of her hardy inhabitants to the national army and navy, the increased value of her revenue is of itself an ample compensation for the aids she has received. The whole revenue of Scotland at the Union in 1706 was estimated at £160,000 *per annum*. At the period of the Union with Ireland in 1800, the revenue actually paid from Scotland to the English Exchequer, was above £1,790,000 Sterling. The income of the Post-Office in Scotland in 1706 was . . . . . L. 1194 0 0
The income of the same in 1801 was . . 89,317 0 0

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Lord Kames publishes Remarkable Decisions of the Court of Session.

In the year 1766, Lord Kames published in a folio volume, *Remarkable Decisions* of the Court of Session, from 1730 to 1752. The reports contained in this volume relate to those more remarkable causes which had occurred in the course of his own practice while at the Bar. "This compilation," (he observes in his preface), "is the perfor-" mance of an Advocate, who, having been " employed as counsel in every one of the " cases contained in the Collection, had the " fairest opportunity of being well acquain-" ted with the *res gesta*. To vouch the ac-" curacy of the facts, the session-papers are " appealed to, which are deposited in the " Advocates Library: And as to the argu-" ments, which were borrowed from the " Bench not less frequently than from the " Bar, every reader will judge for himself,

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The amount of the Excise-duties in 1706 was	L. 33,500	0	0
The amount of the same in 1801 was	833,000	0	0
The amount of the Custom-house duties in 1706 was	L. 34,000	0	0
The amount of the same in 1801 was	578,000	0	0

" whether they be properly adapted to the " facts stated." The volume contains 130 cases, in all of which the *ratio decidendi* is some important principle of law, and of which, consequently, the decision may be of use as a precedent in similar questions. When it is considered how small a proportion such cases bear to the ordinary questions in a court of law, we may hence form some estimate of the extensive employment of the barrister whose practice could afford such a selection. These Reports afford the strongest evidence of the great ability and legal knowledge of their compiler; but it has been remarked, and with justice, that the *patria manus* is very observable, and that the author's own argument is generally stated with greater amplitude, and more strenuously enforced than that which opposes his side of the question. Allowing for this very natural bias, the composition is useful in practice, and affords a model of clear and perspicuous brevity of statement, which touches only the important points of a cause, and rejects all that is superfluous in the detail or argument.

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His opinion on the rupture with America.

The attention of the public was at this time deeply engaged with those unfortunate differences between Great Britain and her American Colonies, which terminated in the final separation of the latter from the mother-country. The opinion of Lord Kames on the abstract question which was the ground of those differences, "Whether "Great Britain had a right to tax the Co- "lonies, by an act of her legislative body, "in which they had no representatives," is known from what he has written on that topic, in the second section of his Sketch on the subject of *Finances*. He there combats the doctrine delivered by Mr Locke, in his *Essay on Government*, "That the le- "gislative power of the State can impose "no tax, without the consent of the majo- "rity of the people, expressed either by "themselves or by their representatives;" and after shewing, that the number of those in Great Britain actually represented, by having a vote in the choice of the Members of Parliament, does not amount to a hundredth part of the community, he places the right of taxation on the solid basis which Locke himself has suggested, though he has

inadvertently laid no weight on it, namely, That every one who enjoys his share of protection, should pay, proportionally to his estate, for the support of that Government which protects him. Such being his opinion on the abstract question, he applies it, in the following words, to the case of the Colonies:

"Many writers, misled by the respectable "authority of Locke, boldly maintain, that "a British Parliament cannot legally tax "the American Colonies, who are not re- "presented in Parliament. This proposi- "tion, which has drawn the attention of the "public of late years, has led me to be "more explicit on the power of imposing "taxes, than otherwise would be necessary. "Those who favour the independence of "our colonies urge, "That a man ought to "have the disposal of what he acquires by "honest industry, subject to no controul: "whence the necessity of a Parliament for "imposing taxes, where every individual is "either personally present, or by a repre- "sentative of his own election. The aid "accordingly given to a British Sovereign,

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" is not a tribute, but a free and voluntary " gift." What is said above, will bring the " dispute within a narrow compass. If our " colonists be British subjects, which hither- " to has not been controverted, they are " subjected to the British Legislature in " every article of government; and as from " the beginning they have been protected " by Britain, they ought, like other subjects, " to pay for that protection *. There ne- " ver was a time less favourable to their " claim of freedom from taxes, than the " close of the late war with France. Had " not Britain seasonably interposed, they " would have been swallowed up by France, " and become slaves to despotism.——If a " legal power to impose taxes without con- " sent of the people, did necessarily imply " a legal power to impose taxes at pleasure, " and without limitation, Locke's argument " would be invincible, in a free country at " least. A power to impose taxes at plea- " sure, would indeed be an invasion of the

* See Dr Tucker's notions on this subject, in his letter to Lord Kames, dated 16th June 1782, in N0. 1. of the Appendix to this Volume.

" fundamental law of property; because, " under pretext of taxing, it would subject " every man's property to the arbitrary will " of the Sovereign. But the argument has " no weight where the Sovereign's power is " limited. The reciprocal duties between " Sovereign and subject imply, that the " people ought to contribute what sums " are necessary for the support of govern- " ment, and that the Sovereign ought not " to demand more. It is true, that there " is no regular check against him, when he " transgresses his duty in this particular: " but there is an effectual check in the na- " ture of every government that is not le- " gally despotic, viz. a general concert a- " mong all ranks, to vindicate their liberty " against a course of violence and oppres- " sion; and multiplied acts of that kind " have more than once brought about such " a concert."

Correspondence with Dr Franklin renewed.

But if such were the sentiments of Lord Kames on the question of right between Britain and her colonies, it appears, that, on viewing the matter in the light of expedien-

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cy, he had very early formed an opinion, that, in the relative situation of the two countries, and looking to the probable chance of increasing animosities, and matters being driven to extremity, either by the erring policy or factious views of some of the leaders in both, it would be a wise measure in the British Government to wave the question of strict right, and to consent freely to a consolidating union with America, by giving that country a full representation in Parliament. On this subject he had written to Dr Franklin as early as the end of the year 1765, at the time when the first intelligence arrived in this country of the disorders occasioned by the attempts to carry the stamp-act into execution; and he had written a second letter to him on the same subject, in the beginning of 1767. Dr Franklin's answer to these letters is extremely interesting, and affords a striking specimen of the profound sagacity and foresight of that extraordinary man.

To Lord KAMES.

" MY DEAR LORD,

" *London, April* 11. 1767.

Letter from him to Lord Kames on American affairs.

" I received your obliging favour of January the 19th. You have kindly relieved me from the pain I had long been under. You are goodness itself. I ought long since to have answered yours of December 25. 1765. I never received a letter that contained sentiments more suitable to my own. It found me under much agitation of mind on the very important subject it treated. It fortified me greatly in the judgment I was inclined to form (though contrary to the general vogue) on the then delicate and critical situation of affairs between Britain and her Colonies, and on that weighty point, their *Union*. You guessed aright in supposing that I would not be a *mute in that play*. I was extremely busy, attending Members of both Houses, informing, explaining, consulting, disputing, in a continual hurry from morning to night, till the affair was happily ended. During the course of it, being call-

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ed before the House of Commons, I spoke my mind pretty freely. Inclosed I send you the imperfect account that was taken of that examination: You will there see how entirely we agree, except in a point of fact, of which you could not but be misinformed; the papers at that time being full of mistaken assertions, that the Colonies had been the cause of the war, and had ungratefully refused to bear any part of the expence of it. I send it you now, because I apprehend some late incidents are likely to revive the contest between the two countries. I fear it will be a mischievous one. It becomes a matter of great importance that clear ideas should be formed on solid principles, both in Britain and America, of the true political relation between them, and the mutual duties belonging to that relation. Till this is done, they will be often jarring. I know none whose knowledge, sagacity and impartiality, qualify him so thoroughly for such a service, as yours do you. I wish therefore you would consider it. You may thereby be the happy instrument of great good to the nation, and of preventing much mischief and bloodshed. I am fully persuaded with

you, that a *Consolidating Union*, by a fair and equal representation of all the parts of this empire in Parliament, is the only firm basis on which its political grandeur and prosperity can be founded. Ireland once wished it, but now rejects it. The time has been when the Colonies might have been pleased with it; They are now *indifferent* about it: and if it is much longer delayed, they too will *refuse* it. But the pride of this people cannot bear the thought of it, and therefore it will be delayed. Every man in England seems to consider himself as a piece of a sovereign over America; seems to jostle himself into the throne with the King, and talks of *our subjects in the Colonies*. The Parliament cannot well and wisely make laws suited to the Colonies, without being properly and truly informed of their circumstances, abilities, temper, &c. This it cannot be, without representatives from thence: and yet it is fond of this power, and averse to the only means of acquiring the necessary knowledge for exercising it; which is, desiring to be *omnipotent*, without being *omniscient*.

"I have mentioned that the contest is like to be revived. It is on this occasion. In the same session with the stamp-act, an act was passed to regulate the quartering of soldiers in America. When the bill was first brought in, it contained a clause, empowering the officers to quarter their soldiers in private houses: this we warmly opposed, and got it omitted. The bill passed, however, with a clause, that empty houses, barns, &c. should be hired for them, and that the respective provinces where they were should pay the expence, and furnish firing, bedding, drink, and some other articles to the soldiers *gratis*. There is no way for any province to do this, but by the Assembly's making a law to raise the money. Pennsylvanian Assembly has made such a law: New-York Assembly has refused to do it: and now all the talk here is of sending a force to compel them.

"The reasons given by the Assembly to the Governor, for the refusal, are, That they understand the act to mean the furnishing such things to soldiers, only while on their march through the country, and not to great

bodies of soldiers, to be fixt, as at present, in the province; the burthen in the latter case being greater than the inhabitants can bear: That it would put it in the power of the Captain-General to oppress the province at pleasure, &c. But there is supposed to be another reason at bottom, which they intimate, though they do not plainly express it; to wit, that it is of the nature of an *internal tax* laid on them by Parliament, which has no right so to do. Their refusal is here called *Rebellion*, and punishment is thought of.

"Now, waving that point of right, and supposing the Legislatures in America subordinate to the Legislature of Great Britain, one might conceive, I think, a power in the superior Legislature to forbid the inferior Legislatures making particular laws; but to enjoin it to make a particular law contrary to its own judgment, seems improper; an Assembly or Parliament not being an *executive* officer of Government, whose duty it is, in law-making, to obey orders, but a *deliberative* body, who are to consider what comes before them, its propriety, practica-

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bility, or possibility, and to determine accordingly: The very nature of a Parliament seems to be destroyed, by supposing it may be bound, and compelled by a law of a superior Parliament, to make a law contrary to its own judgment.

" Indeed, the act of Parliament in question has not, as in other acts, when a duty is enjoined, directed a penalty on neglect or refusal, and a mode of recovering that penalty. It seems, therefore, to the people in America as a mere requisition, which they are at liberty to comply with or not, as it may suit or not suit the different circumstances of different provinces. Pennsylvania has therefore voluntarily complied. New-York, as I said before, has refused. The Ministry that made the act, and all their adherents, call out for vengeance. The present Ministry are perplext, and the measures they will finally take on the occasion, are yet unknown. But sure I am, that if *Force* is used, great mischief will ensue; the affections of the people of America to this country will be alienated; your commerce will be diminished; and a total

separation of interests be the final consequence.

" It is a common, but mistaken notion here, that the Colonies were planted at the expence of Parliament, and that therefore the Parliament has a right to tax them, &c. The truth is, they were planted at the expence of private adventurers, who went over there to settle, with leave of the King, given by charter. On receiving this leave, and these charters, the adventurers voluntarily engaged to remain the King's subjects, though in a foreign country; a country which had not been conquered by either King or Parliament, but was possessed by a free people. When our planters arrived, they purchased the lands of the natives, without putting King or Parliament to any expence. Parliament had no hand in their settlement, was never so much as consulted about their constitution, and took no kind of notice of them, till many years after they were established. I except only the two modern Colonies, or rather attempts to make Colonies, (for they succeed but poorly, and as yet hardly deserve the name of

BOOK III. Colonies), I mean Georgia and Nova-Scotia, which have been hitherto little better than Parliamentary jobs. Thus all the Colonies acknowledge the King as their Sovereign; his Governors there represent his person: Laws are made by their Assemblies or little Parliaments, with the Governor's assent, subject still to the King's pleasure to confirm or annul them: Suits arising in the Colonies, and differences between Colony and Colony, are determined by the King in Council. In this view, they seem so many separate little states, subject to the same Prince. The *sovereignty of the* KING is therefore easily understood. But nothing is more common here than to talk of the *sovereignty of* PARLIAMENT, and the *sovereignty of* THIS NATION over the Colonies; a kind of sovereignty, the idea of which is not so clear, nor does it clearly appear on what foundation it is established. On the other hand, it seems necessary for the common good of the empire, that a power be lodged somewhere to regulate its general commerce: this can be placed no where so properly as in the Parliament of Great Britain; and therefore, though that power

has in some instances been executed with great partiality to Britain, and prejudice to the Colonies, they have nevertheless always submitted to it. Custom-houses are established in all of them, by virtue of laws made here, and the duties constantly paid, except by a few smugglers, such as are here and in all countries; but internal taxes laid on them by Parliament, are still, and ever will be objected to, for the reasons that you will see in the mentioned Examination.

" Upon the whole, I have lived so great a part of my life in Britain *, and have formed so many friendships in it, that I love it, and sincerely wish its prosperity; and therefore wish to see that Union, on which alone I think it can be secured and established. As to America, the advantages

* Dr FRANKLIN was born at Boston in New England in 1706. His father was of a race of yeomanry who had lived for above 300 years at the village of Eaton in Northamptonshire. His mother was a daughter of Peter Folger, one of the first Colonists of New England, of whom Cotton Mather makes honourable mention in his *Ecclesiastical History* of that province.

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of such an union to her are not so apparent. She may suffer at present under the arbitrary power of this country; she may suffer for a while in a separation from it; but these are temporary evils that she will outgrow. Scotland and Ireland are differently circumstanced. Confined by the sea, they can scarcely increase in numbers, wealth and strength, so as to overbalance England. But America, an immense territory, favoured by Nature with all advantages of climate, soil, great navigable rivers, and lakes, &c. must become a great country, populous and mighty; and will, in a less time than is generally conceived, be able to shake off any shackles that may be imposed on her, and perhaps place them on the imposers. In the mean time, every act of oppression will sour their tempers, lessen greatly, if not annihilate the profits of your commerce with them, and hasten their final revolt; for the seeds of liberty are universally sown there, and nothing can eradicate them. And yet, there remains among that people, so much respect, veneration and affection for Britain,

that if cultivated prudently, with kind usage, and tenderness for their privileges, they might be easily governed still for ages, without force, or any considerable expence. But I do not see here a sufficient quantity of the wisdom that is necessary to produce such a conduct, and I lament the want of it.

"I borrowed at Millar's the new edition of your *Principles of Equity*, and have read with great pleasure the preliminary discourse on the Principles of Morality. I have never before met with any thing so satisfactory on the subject. While reading it, I made a few remarks as I went along. They are not of much importance, but I send you the paper.

"I know the Lady you mention *; having, when in England before, met with her once or twice at Lord Bath's. I remember I then entertained the same opinion of her that you express. On the strength of your

* Mrs Montagu.

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kind recommendation, I purpose soon to wait on her.

"This is unexpectedly grown a long letter. The visit to Scotland, and the *Art of Virtue* *, we will talk of hereafter. It is now time to say, that I am, with increasing esteem and affection, my dear friend, yours ever,

B. FRANKLIN."

This excellent letter, as appears by a subsequent one, from the same hand, was in all probability intercepted, as it was not received by Lord Kames in the regular course of communication. Dr Franklin, however, having preserved a copy, transmitted it two years afterwards to his correspondent. The opinions it conveyed, were thus probably well known to the persons at the head of Administration. It had been happy they had paid them that attention which the wisdom of the counsels they contained deserved.

* See *supra*, vol. i. p. 372.

CHAP. III.

From the same on Agricultural and Economical topics.

As the letter which follows, is the last of the correspondence between Lord Kames and Dr Franklin which has been preserved, I shall here insert it, although it has no reference to the subject of the preceding. Lord Kames was at that time keenly engaged in agricultural researches, and in some of those economical and political speculations which he was preparing to lay before the public.

Dr FRANKLIN *to Lord* KAMES.

" *London, February* 21. 1769.

" MY DEAR FRIEND,

" I received your excllent paper on the preferable use of oxen in agriculture, and have put it in the way of being communicated to the public here. I have observed in America, that the farmers are more thriving in those parts of the country where cattle are used, than in those where the labour is done by horses. The latter are said to require twice the quantity of land to maintain them; and after all, are not good

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to eat,—at least we don't think them so. Here is a waste of land that might afford subsistence for so many of the human species. Perhaps it was for this reason, that the Hebrew Lawgiver, having promised that the children of Israel should be as numerous as the sands of the sea, not only took care to secure the health of individuals, by regulating their diet, that they might be fitter for producing children, but also forbid their using horses, as those animals would lessen the quantity of subsistence for men. Thus we find, that when they took any horses from their enemies, they destroyed them;—and in the Commandments, where the labour of the ox and ass is mentioned, and forbidden on the Sabbath, there is no mention of the horse, probably because they were to have none. And by the great armies suddenly raised in that small territory they inhabited, it appears to have been very full of people *.

* There is not in the Jewish law any express prohibition against the use of horses: it is only enjoined, that the Kings should not multiply the breed, or carry on trade with Egypt for the purchase of horses, *Deut.* xvii. 16. Solomon was the

"Food is *always* necessary to *all*; and much the greatest part of the labour of mankind is employed in raising provisions for the mouth. Is not this kind of labour, then, the fittest to be the standard by which to measure the values of all other labour, and consequently of all other things whose value depends on the labour of making or procuring them? May not even gold and silver be thus valued? If the labour of the farmer in producing a bushel of wheat be equal to the labour of the miner in producing an ounce of silver, will not the bushel of wheat just measure the value of the ounce of silver? The miner must eat; the farmer indeed can live without the ounce of silver, and so perhaps will have some advantage in settling the price. But these discussions

first of the Kings of Judah who disregarded this ordinance. He had 40,000 stalls of horses, which he brought out of Egypt, 1 *Kings* iv. 26., and *Ibid.* x. 28. From his time downwards, horses were in constant use in the Jewish armies. It is true, that the country, from its rocky surface and unfertile soil, was extremely unfit for the maintenance of those animals.

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I leave to you, as being more able to manage them. Only, I will send you a little scrap I wrote some time since on the laws prohibiting foreign commodities.

" I congratulate you on your election as President of your Edinburgh Society *. I think I formerly took notice to you in conversation, that I thought there had been similarity in our fortunes, and the circumstances of our lives. This is a fresh instance; for, by letters just received, I find that I was about the same time chosen Pre-

* Of the Edinburgh Philosophical Society, I have already made mention in vol. i. p. 184. and in the corresponding note. How much the institution was indebted to the vigour of mind and spirit of its President, is testified by the following notice, taken from the Introduction to the first volume of the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh*, published in 1788: " The Philosophical Society, though its meet-" ings were not altogether discontinued, appears to have " languished for some time, till, from the uncommon zeal " and distinguished abilities of Lord Kames, then elected Pre-" sident of the institution, its business was conducted with " renewed ardour and success."—*Trans. of the R. S. of Edin.* vol. i. p. 7. It appears from the minutes of the Society, that Lord Kames continued to attend and preside at its meetings, when at the age of eighty-five, and till within a few months of his death.

sident of our American Philosophical Society, established at Philadelphia *.

" I have sent by sea, to the care of Mr Alexander, a little box, containing a few copies of the late edition of my books, for my friends in Scotland. One is directed for you, and one for your Society, which I beg that you and they would accept as a small mark of my respect.——With the

* The American Philosophical Society was instituted in 1769, and was formed by the union of two Societies which had formerly subsisted at Philadelphia, whose views and objects were of a similar nature. Its members, which are numerous, are classed into the following committees:

For
1. Geography, Mathematics, Natural Philosophy and Astronomy.
2. Medicine and Anatomy.
3. Natural History and Chemistry.
4. Trade and Commerce.
5. Mechanics and Architecture.
6. Husbandry, and American improvements.

And, several volumes have been published of the Transactions of this American Society, in which are many Papers by Dr Franklin.

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sincerest esteem and regard, I am, my dear friend, yours most affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

"*P. S.*—I am sorry my letter of 1767, concerning the American dispute, miscarried. I now send you a copy of it from my book. The Examination mentioned in it you have probably seen. Things daily wear a worse aspect, and tend more and more to a breach and final separation."

CHAPTER IV.

Lord Kames collects materials for a History of Man. His investigation concerning the Poems of Ossian.—Writes to Mrs Montagu on that subject.—Her opinion of Ossian's Poems.—Result of the Inquiry into the authenticity of those Poems.—Prosecution of the Author's Researches relative to the History of Man.

CHAP. IV.

Lord Kames collects materials for a History of Man.

LORD KAMES was now assiduously engaged, at every moment of his leisure hours, in the composition of a great work, which, at his advanced age, he seems to have intended as the conclusion of his literary labours. He had for many years past been employed in collecting materials for a *History of Man*, a work which, he says, "in the "vigour of his life, he did not think too "bold an undertaking for a single hand."

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We shall afterwards see, that he became sensible, that the design was too vast, and the talents it required too multifarious, for leaving any hope of its being executed by him with suitable skill and ability, in the amplitude which the subject required; and therefore that he wisely determined to confine his plan within narrower limits.

His investigation concerning the Poems of Ossian.

In the course of collecting and methodizing his materials for this intended work, he sought information from every quarter whence it was likely to be furnished. The first branch of his subject leading him to trace the progress of Man in the rudest periods of society, his attention was naturally attracted to that extraordinary phenomenon, exhibited in the *Poems of Ossian*, then recently published, of a people little removed from the condition of savages, very imperfectly acquainted even with the simplest arts, whose sole occupations were hunting and warfare; yet possessing not only the heroic virtues in the highest perfection, but the purest sentiments of morality, and all that delicate regard for the female sex, which distinguishes an age of refinement and high civilization. The extrinsic proofs

of the authenticity of those poems appearing to him sufficient, at least to the extent of establishing the fact of the existence for many ages of various fragments of the rhapsodies or songs of the ancient bards, which evinced that wonderful peculiarity of manners and sentiments; he applied his ingenuity to account, if possible, for this phenomenon, by an inquiry into the manners of those nations, both of Gaulish and Scandinavian origin, of whom we have any certain historical records, while in a similar state of society to the ancient Caledonians. The fruits of his investigation he has detailed at large in that section of the work above alluded to, which he entitles, *Sketch on the Progress of Manners:* its general result he mentions in the following letter:

Lord KAMES *to Mrs* MONTAGU.

" *Blair-Drummond,*
" *May* 22. 1771.

Writes to Mrs Montagu on that subject.

" Ever since my return to the country from the hurry of a town-life, I have been completely occupied upon my great and

BOOK III. last work; and it requires some effort to interrupt it even for a few minutes by a letter to Mrs Montagu, though commonly to me a most agreeable amusement. Whether I made any mention of *Ossian* in my last letter to her, I have forgot; but there is no harm in saying a good thing twice. It has always surprised me to find the discovery of those poems from the rubbish of antiquity so coolly received in England; which indicates a lamentable decay of taste. There is no excuse for your countrymen, but that the work was considered as a fiction and imposture. Remark, that I do not comprehend the women; it would be injurious, when Mrs Montagu is its champion. Zeal for Ossian, and for the Island in which I was born, made me seriously think of setting about a vindication of that poet as a true historian; and after making many collections from various authors, I have been successful beyond my hope. I have in particular made out, that the manners described by Ossian were the genuine manners of his country. Such refined notions, especially with respect to the female sex, of a people in the first stage of society, approach

to a miracle; and yet I have brought evidence of the fact sufficient to satisfy any impartial jury. Fond of the discovery, I wrote to Macpherson, mentioning several imperfections in his edition of Ossian, particularly the confusion of names, and incidents thrown together without any order; and therefore recommending to him a new edition, arranging the several poems in the order of time, with a general historical preface, describing all the persons introduced, and shewing the connection of the different events, in order to make the reader acquainted beforehand with the *dramatis personæ*, and leave nothing but pure pleasure in the reading of the work. I have also suggested to him some amendments of the style; for though the composition on the whole is excellent, yet many passages are capable of a higher polish, without losing in point of strength. Mr Macpherson has embraced my hint more readily than I expected. But, is there not a part here to act worthy of Mrs Montagu? She has great weight with Macpherson; and her part will be, not only the encouraging him to proceed, but the giving him advice and direc-

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tion about making improvements. You and I will not be the chief actors in this piece; but even Garrick does not always take to himself the capital parts; and it will give us both high satisfaction to set our countrymen right in their notions of Ossian, as the most important discovery that ever was made in the history of literature, as well as of manners.

" And now that my mind is roused to the subject, I would have the new edition introduced in the most ornamental way. What would you think of adorning it with a few copperplates, representing the most striking incidents. Ornaments in books are like ceremonies in religion; they captivate the vulgar. If that decoration be resolved on, I undertake to contribute my mite, by suggesting several incidents that will make a figure in historical painting. Whether the edition will bear the expence of such a costly embellishment, I cannot judge. But it seems easy to prevent the risk, by a subscription for defraying the expence of the work thus embellished. I imagine that many would be glad to subscribe, in order

to be ranked in a respecable list of people of taste; and a cheap purchase it will be to acquire that character for five or even ten guineas.

"Take notice, fair Lady, that the great work is going on, and that you are engaged to contribute. I say, as Joab did to David, "Gather your forces together, lest I take "the city, and it be called after my name."

"As the Duke and Dutchess of Gordon are here just now, I dare not say that you would have heard from me quite so soon, but for the opportunity of a frank: Great events sometimes hang upon little causes. When her Grace and Lord Kames are together, Mrs Montagu is seldom forgotten. ——Not in form only, but in substance, your sincere friend,

HENRY HOME."

The answer to this letter, and to another on the same subject, does honour to the abilities and discernment of the writer.

Mrs MONTAGU *to Lord* KAMES.

" MY LORD,

" *Sandleford, October* 3. 1771.

Her opinion of Ossian's Poems.

" I am quite ashamed to see how long your Lordship's letters have lain by me unanswered. I received them at Tunbridge, where writing was prohibited on account of the waters, which are anti-heliconian, and confuse and perplex the head. To give a worthy answer to your letters, the genuine Helicon would hardly suffice. It would not be enough to see into futurity, but one must have a view likewise of the ages that are past; and many of them, alas! were consigned to oblivion, as fast as the day or deeds were done. A tattling, lying gossip, called Tradition, did indeed, in her idle fashion, repeat some facts, invent others, and whisper to a new-born generation, in fable, allegory, and all the modes of story, the tale of other times. I have not less zeal for the *Poems of Ossian*, than if I had been born on one of his favourite mountains; and I shall be very glad to see history confirm all that

his poetry has set forth. Your Lordship says that these poems have been received with coldness in England. I will easily account to you for it, without supposing any decay of good taste. This age is sceptical: to doubt, is now reckoned as much a mark of wisdom, as to know, was thought so in former ages. It was prodigiously for the interest of beaux and fribbles, to get a little honour for their flimsy judgments, by so easy a method as doubting of the authenticity of these poems. To read, might have hurt their eyes; to judge of them was impossible: but as doubt dwells on the threshold of knowledge, *they* may venture to speak to the porter, who never will be admitted to the master of the house.—So Beau Dapper and Beau Dimple denied their being genuine: "*Beaux form'd like Ladies,* "*Ladies will believe.*"

"Thus were the poems rejected by many in the polite world. In the learned world, one had plighted his poetic faith and love to Homer; another to Virgil: all, then, that they could allow the Caledonian bard was a little transient admiration. Some were af-

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fected by national jealousies: the Scotch, say they, do not relish our poets, but truly expect that we should like their ghosts and trash. The Duke of Nivernois, who is a man of learning and taste, and as a Frenchman, noway invidious to a Highland bard, wished much for some evidence from history of the genuineness of the poems; but none could be procured. I do not doubt of your Lordship being able to do more upon the subject, than any other person; as in you (which is rare) application and genius join: But, in absolute void, where no objects exist, no glimmering ray appears, there will be little difference of discernment,

> "Between the mole's dark curtain, and the lynx's
> "beam."

Where exist the records of those ages? Not even any monuments of art appear. Were men civilized, before they were assembled in large communities? I do not mean to pun, when I say, there could hardly be civility without cities. Can one imagine politeness of manners began before even agriculture? Does Nature operate in other

modes in Scotland, than in the rest of the world? Do not the ruins of Palmyra still bear witness to her former greatness? Are not the pyramids of Egypt witnesses, that that country was in possession of arts? How beautiful are the ruins of Athens! how august the ruins of Rome! Three grey stones, unpolished, uninscribed, were all the honours the departed hero, or celebrated bard, expected for the glorious labours of his life. We find only three characters amongst these Highlanders, the Warrior, the Bard, and the Hunter. As to the fair sex, I do believe, that, living in a country where the sun is not very ardent, they might be fair, though they were much exposed to weather, and certainly must have been obliged to partake of the labours and inconveniences of a savage state. But they would surely appear fair to Ossian, and to all his heroes; and the Celtæ were remarkably regardful of their women. I imagine that Ossian has given the fine gloss of poetry to a rude age. If there shall be found any fine edifices, or any testimonies of higher improvement, we must begin to

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alter our opinions. But as to myself, I credited Ossian the more, because I do not see any thing in his poems inconsistent with uncivilized times. The heroes are brave in the field, hospitable and courteous at a feast. They were not cruel, as absolute savages are: but I believe our Celtic ancestors were not the brutes they have been imagined. I do not see any probability, that if the Highlanders had been once a polished people, they would have returned to barbarism; as they were never subdued. The grandchildren of Fingal probably still remain upon the very mountain where his hall was built. They are now a fine people, brave, generous, and hospitable; but the lowest order is not polished. I have seen lovely lasses amongst them, and as fair, I doubt not, as Malvina, though indeed she was the daughter-in-law of a King. I cannot believe they pulled down towns, to live on the mountains, nor houses, to dwell in huts. How great elegance of form is consistent with being exposed to the sun and wind of summer, and with being smoked like bacon, in the winter, I do not understand; nor how great delicacy of manners subsisted, where all the

men and women of a family undressed and slept in the same apartment. We are indeed apt to think too meanly of those who do not possess the arts of civil life: for man is a noble creature in himself; and in his rudest state, he has many perfections. I was greatly pleased with Mr Macpherson's new work. He is in all respects a fine writer. No one writes the English language better: and he writes with great judgment, as well as genius. His account of the laws, language, religion, and customs of the Celtæ, is admirable. I long to hear how your Lordship proceeds in your inquiry into the age of Ossian. I have always imagined we were superciliously unjust to our ancestors, and because they had not our virtues and our qualities, rashly supposed they had not any character much above the savage.

"I suppose you are now at Blair-Drummond, enjoying, in that fine place, the majestic beauties of the autumn. I am in Berkshire, where the character of the country is soft and pleasing, but without the sublime. I had a great deal of conversation about you

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with Lord Mansfield this summer. I am glad to tell you he is in perfect health. He has a great esteem for your Lordship, and his esteem, I need not add, is truly estimable. I am, my Lord, yours, &c.

E. MONTAGU."

The opinion which this ingenious Lady seems to have formed of the *Poems of Ossian*, is, that judicious medium which lies between the high pretensions of the most zealous advocates for the authenticity of those poems, who maintain in its utmost extent their asserted antiquity, the veracity of the historical facts, and the fidelity of the picture of manners, which they display; and that absolute incredulity which rejects every one of those pretensions, and stigmatizes the whole as a modern imposture. She takes that sober view of the subject, which a few persons of judgment and candour adopted, from the first appearance of those poems, and which bids fair at last to be the prevailing sentiment with the discerning and unprejudiced part of the public.

CHAP. IV.

Result of the inquiry into their authenticity.

That a great mass of heroic poetry, strongly marked with the sublime, the tender and the pathetic, had been current in the Highlands of Scotland, and in Ireland, for several centuries; poetry, which was rehearsed or sung by the bards, and which commemorated the battles and exploits of a very ancient race of men, who inhabited those countries long before the periods of authentic history: —That when writing came into use, a part of that heroic poetry was then committed to manuscript, while the greater part still continued to float only in the memory, and thus to pass from one generation of bards to another, till that order of men had utterly decayed; when, of course, it was imperfectly remembered, and retained only in fragments by a few old men of the last generation:—That these fragments, much admired, and even venerated by the Highlanders, had so impressed some persons of taste*, before the time of Macpherson, that they were at much pains to collect them, and, in

* The Reverend Mr A. Pope, Jerom Stone, and others.

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one instance, to publish a translated specimen:—That James Macpherson, some years afterwards, having translated a few of those fragments into English, which attracted the notice of Dr Blair, Mr John Home, Dr Fergusson, Lord Elibank, Sir Adam Fergusson, and others of the Scottish men of letters, was by them sent on a mission to the Highlands and Western Isles, to search for and collect all of that ancient poetry which he might either find in manuscript, or could gather from oral recitation:—and, that the result of that search was the recovery of a very large quantity of poetical compositions, which Macpherson put together, translated into English, and published, affirming it to be a faithful version of the original: These are facts which seem now to be ascertained by every kind of evidence of which the subject is capable.

Two questions, however, remain.—*First*, Are those fragments which are proved to have been known for some centuries back, actually coeval with the events which they relate, and thus to be relied on as a record of facts and of manners?—*Secondly*, Has

Macpherson been a faithful editor and translator; or if he has altered his materials and improved upon his originals, to what extent has he done so? Both these questions have been the subject of the keenest controversy, in which passion and prejudice seem, on both sides, to have obscured the judgment.

As to the *first* question, it will be evident on a very little reflection, that it is impossible, in the circumstances of the case, that it can receive a positive answer. That the principal events recorded in these poems are historical facts, and the manners a true picture, we have no other evidence than the poems themselves, whose authenticity is in question. But granting this were demonstrated from other authorities of authentic history, what consequence of any importance could we draw from it? The coincidence of a few of the facts with true history, and a resemblance of the manners there described to those of other rude nations; nay even the positive testimony of the best historians, that such events had actually happened, and that such were in reality the

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manners of the ancient Caledonians, would be no decisive evidence of the antiquity of the poems published as the compositions of Ossian. A skilful forger might, and most probably would, attend to and secure that coincidence. Neither, on the other hand, would a discrepance from the truth, both in facts and manners, prove those poems to be a modern fabrication: the painting might be imaginary in both these particulars, and yet the picture ancient. History, no doubt, is, or ought to be the faithful recorder of facts; but it is the province of Poetry to create. Fiction is her undisputed prerogative; and the greatest poets have indulged the most in the creations of fancy *. Has Homer confined himself to historic truth in

* The province of the Poet, as discriminated from that of the Historian, is well defined by *Bacon*: "Cùm res gestæ, "et eventus qui veræ historiæ subjiciuntur, non sint ejus "amplitudinis in quà anima humana sibi satisfaciat, præsto "est Poësis, quæ facta magis heroica confingat—Quare et "meritò etiam divinitatis particeps videri possit Poësis, quia "animum erigit, et in sublime rapit; rerum simulacra ad "animi desideria accommodando, non animum rebus (quod "Ratio facit et Historia) submittendo."—*De Aug. Scien.* lib. ii. cap. 13.

the *Iliad* and *Odyssey;* or have the manners and sentiments of his heroes no tincture of poetic embellishment? But Ossian, it is alleged, has gone beyond Homer in this particular; for the Caledonian heroes far surpass the Grecian, in generosity, humanity, tenderness, and all the nobler virtues. We grant it. The Highland bard has only taken a greater stretch of poetic licence. But has he taken more than Tasso,—has he taken more than Milton? The absurdity lies in the supposition that Ossian ever *meant* to give a faithful picture either of facts or of manners *.

The *second* question, though it admits of a difference of conjectural opinion, is equally incapable of a positive decision. The

* But Ossian, it will be said, records the deeds of his father, himself, and his own cotemporaries, and here at least we may expect veracity. No; for Ossian did not assume the character of the historian, but of the poet. He meant to exaggerate, to immortalize, to deify his heroes. The *Araucana* of *Ercilla Çuniga* commemorates the poet's own exploits in a real expedition which he commanded, of the Spaniards against the Peruvians: He is the hero of his own poem; but he scruples not to embellish it with a thousand fictions.

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mysterious silence of Macpherson while alive; the non-appearance, since his death, of many of those manuscripts, of which he was known to have been in the possession; the impossibility of verifying, at the distance of half a century, those fragments which he collected from the oral recitation of persons long since dead; all these circumstances leave the question, as to the liberties taken by the translator, a subject of doubt, and his conduct a matter of just suspicion. A Committee of the Highland Society, whose skill in the Gaelic language, (without which it is equally presumptuous to form a decisive judgment in this controversy, as for the blind to decide on colours); and whose sagacity of research eminently fitted them for the task; who had the best opportunities for information, and spared no labour in acquiring it; and finally, whose candour and veracity are beyond all question, have pushed this investigation as far as it can possibly go. The modesty of their Report, which is a plain detail of evidence, without a word of argument, entitles it to the utmost respect; and on their belief as to the conduct of the Translator, it seems

safe and prudent for those to rely, who cannot boast of possessing their advantages in the inquiry. "We are inclined to believe," (says this Committee), "that he (the translator) "was in use to supply chasms, and "to give connexion, by inserting passages "which he did not find, and to add "what he conceived to be dignity and de- "licacy to the original composition, by "striking out passages, by softening inci- "dents, by refining the language; in short, "by changing what he considered as too "simple or too rude for a modern ear, and "elevating what in his opinion was below "the standard of good poetry *. To what

* In the exercise of this licence, Macpherson has borrowed liberally from the sentiments and expressions of the best poets, ancient and modern, a liberty which, to a certain extent, has been assumed by the most celebrated of the modern poetical translators from the works of the ancients. Pope, in the Postscript to his translation of the *Odyssey*, acknowledges that he made considerable use of the style of Milton, to give dignity and ornament to his own versions of Homer. It seems, therefore, to be a very inconclusive argument, which has been so strenuously urged by the opponents of the authenticity of *Ossian's Poems*, That numberless passages and phrases in Macpherson's translation have a striking similarity

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" degree, however, he exercised these li-
" berties, it is impossible for the Committee
" to determine. The advantages he pos-
" sessed, which the Committee began its
" inquiries too late to enjoy, of collecting
" from the oral recitation of a number of
" persons now no more, a very great num-
" ber of the same poems, on the same sub-
" jects, and then collating those different
" copies or editions, if they may be so call-
" ed, rejecting what was spurious or cor-
" rupted in one copy, and adopting from
" another something more genuine and ex-
" cellent in its place, afforded him an op-
" portunity of putting together what might
" fairly enough be called an *original whole*,
" of much more beauty, and with much
" fewer blemishes, than the Committee be-

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to, and sometimes an identity with, certain passages and phrases to be found in the Holy Scriptures, in Pope's Homer, Dryden's Virgil, Milton, Thomson, Gray, &c. A similar exertion of industry may likewise discover many such resemblances and coincidences of expression in his versions of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey;* and the translator of Ossian might have freely confessed, that he borrowed from all those sources, to improve his translations both of the Gaelic bard and of the Greek.

" lieves it now possible for any person, or " combination of persons, to obtain *."

Such, it is probable, will be the opinion formed by a more impartial posterity, on the *Poems of Ossian;* when their history and merits shall be canvassed by a cooler judgment, and the prejudices of mankind, though they may still in some degree attend the question, shall lose much of that force they drew from temporary causes, and transitory associations.

Prosecution of the Author's inquiries relative to the History of Man.

It was an invariable practice of Lord Kames, when employed in the composition of any of those works which he intended for the public eye, to direct his researches, not only to the writings of others, but to draw out, in conversation with his literary friends, or by correspondence with those persons best qualified to instruct him, every degree of information he could obtain on

* *Report of the Committee of the Highland Society of Scotland, appointed to Inquire into the Nature and Authenticity of the Poems of Ossian; drawn up by* HENRY MACKENZIE, *Esq.* 1805, p. 152.

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the subject which engaged his thoughts. As his letters, therefore, to men of science were most commonly those of inquiry, and were generally drawn up in the form of queries, it fortunately happens, that though few only of these have been recovered, the answers of his correspondents supply in a great measure that want, and give sufficient information of their contents. Thus, while occupied in collecting materials for his *Sketches of the History of Man*, and employed particularly on those parts of his subject which regard the distinguishing characteristics of Man compared with inferior animals; the nature of instinct, the analogy between animals and vegetables, the power of habit, and the alterations it is capable of producing in the external characters of both, through all their different species; we are at no loss to discern the train of Lord Kames's inquiries, in a correspondence with the eminent naturalist I have before-mentioned, Professor John Walker, when we find the latter thus expressing himself with that amusing *naiveté* peculiar to his character, in a letter of the 18th February 1773 *:

* The reader will find this curious and most instructive letter at NO. III. of the Appendix, Letter I,

"To raise Monkeys to Men; to degrade Men to Monkeys; to attempt to annihilate, or even to extenuate the line of partition between them, is a reigning taste in philosophy, which gives me great disgust. Linnæus indeed has long ranked us in the same order of animals with the *Bat*: and though in this article, I myself perhaps justify his method as much as any individual of my species *, yet I could never look at it with-

* There was but too much truth in this pleasantry of the worthy Professor. It was his custom for a great part of his life to indulge himself in nocturnal study; seldom feeling the resolution to quit his books and papers till four or five o'clock in the morning, and of course, passing the better part of the day in bed: a practice which destroyed a good constitution, and in the end was attended with the total loss of eye-sight, for the last six or seven years of his life. Yet, though thus deprived of the principal source of his enjoyments, and deeply suffering from domestic misfortune, the blessings of a well-regulated mind, an equal temper, a happy flow of animal spirits, and a memory rich in knowledge, and stored with amusing anecdotes, not only rendered his conversation delightful to his friends, but supplied the means and power of still occupying his time with his favourite literary and scientific pursuits. It was but a very few weeks before his death, that the Author of this Work, (who lost in him one of his earliest and most valued friends), in the course of many plea-

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out umbrage. He still, however, placed Man in a genus by himself, at the head of the system. He stickled a little, indeed, for combining us with the *Oranoutang;* but finding that the creature had a *membrana nictitans*, he allowed him to remain with his companions. This was well enough: but his behaviour in his last book is truly provoking. He has there given us a brother-german,—a *Homo Lar*, forsooth! some little scoundrel of a monkey, picked up in the woods of Macassar; whose very name I hold in such detestation, that I am persuaded I am not a drop's-blood to him.

" Let your Lordship pursue the analogy between Plants and Mankind, as far as you will, it is not likely I shall be so much offended as with my friend Linnæus. I have been from the cradle, fond of vegetative life; and though I like my species, and the rank I hold in the creation, I declare I

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sant hours passed with him at his beautiful parsonage house, and in his garden at Collington, drew from him various particulars of the life and character of their common friend Lord Kames, which have served to improve these Memoirs.

would sooner claim kindred to an oak or an apple-tree, than to an ape."

That the analogy here hinted at by Dr Walker, between plants and animals, was a favourite subject of speculation with Lord Kames, appears from the notice he has occasionally bestowed upon it in more than one of his works. It pleased his imagination, and coincided agreeably with that propensity we discover through the whole of his philosophy, to search for final causes in every object of creation *.

* See at NO. III. (Letters II. and III.) of the Appendix, a letter from Lord KAMES on this curious subject to Sir JAMES NASMITH, with an excellent answer from that able man, who was equally respectable for his talents and accomplishments, as for his private virtues.

CHAPTER V.

Lord Kames's Sketches of the History of Man.—Plan and Nature of the Work.—Remarks on Conjectural History.—Progress of Man from Barbarism to Civilization.—Government.—Finances.—The new doctrines in Political Economy.—Police with respect to the Poor.—Principles of Morality.—Progress of Morality.—Principles of Theology.—Progress of Theology.

BOOK III. Sketches of the History of Man.

In 1774, Lord Kames gave to the public his *Sketches of the History of Man*, in two volumes 4to. In a short preface, he expresses his hope, "that this work, the child "of his grey hairs, will survive, and bear "testimony for him to good men, that even "a laborious calling, which left him not "many leisure hours, never banished from "his mind, that he would little deserve to "be of the human species, were he indiffe-"rent about his fellow-creatures: *Homo "sum: humani nihil a me alienum puto.*"

—He owns, that "most of the subjects "he has handled admit only of probable "reasoning; that the fear of being misled "by such arguments filled him with anxie- "ty, and that after his utmost attention, "he could but faintly hope, that he had not "often wandered far from the truth." He intimates that many years ago, and while in the vigour of youth, he had conceived the design of collecting materials for a Natural History of Man; but that finally, from a due sense of the boldness of such an undertaking, and of the limits of his own abilities, he had confined his plan to the execution of a few imperfect Sketches. The work, however, thus modestly announced by its author, though in the form of separate Essays or Dissertations, is digested with a considerable degree of systematic regularity in its plan and arrangement; and is valuable, not only from the great variety of important objects which it embraces, but for the genius and ability displayed in their discussion.

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Plan and Nature of that work.

It is divided into three Books; in the first of which the Author treats of the progress of Men as individuals; in the second, he examines their progress in society; and in the last, he details the rise and progress of the sciences. These general heads admit of many subordinate divisions, which comprehend almost every subject that can illustrate either the moral, political, or economical history of the species.

Under the first division, Lord Kames examines the question, Whether the apparent varieties we observe in the figure of man, and general character of his mind, in different regions of the earth, indicate distinct races of men, or have proceeded from the operation of climate, or other circumstances, altering the external forms and character of the human race? He details with accuracy these differential appearances; and he concludes on this subject, that every argument from facts would lead to the belief of distinct races of men having been originally created, were not the positive evidence of

Scripture decisive to the contrary*. To this authority he submits himself with deference, and proceeds to account, with great ingenuity, for the diversities of languages and of manners, on the basis of the Mosaic account of a single race, whose progress and attainments were uniform; till the dispersion and confusion at Babel scattered them over the face of the earth, reduced them to the condition of savages, and from the abolition of every trace of past improvements, made it necessary for each separate tribe to form for itself a language, and commence an original progress from barbarism to civilization.

On the supposition, therefore, of the universality of the savage state, Lord Kames thinks himself warranted to infer, that the history of the progress of any one rude people from a state of barbarism to refinement, is, in a great measure, the history of

* See some excellent observations on this subject by Professor JOHN WALKER, in a letter to Lord KAMES, at NO. II. of the Appendix to this Volume.

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the species; and, that in defect of the authentic records of any particular nation marking distinctly this progress in a connected chain, it is allowable to draw from every quarter such facts as are illustrative of manners, habits of life, prevailing customs, ideas of morality, or the origin of arts and improvements, and adopt them without scruple as documents of the general history of Man. Of such facts the author has, with great industry, accumulated a very ample collection: nor is the ingenuity less conspicuous with which he has classed and combined them, so as to form from the whole, a luminous, skilful and systematic delineation of the progress of the human race, and the various improvements in the condition of society.

Remarks on Conjectural History.

From this general view of the Author's mode of reasoning, it is evident, that a considerable part of the work must consist of that sort of inquiry which has been properly termed, *Theoretic* or *Conjectural History* *,

* See *suprà*, Vol. I. p. 279. Note regarding the writings of Professor MILLAR.

a species of investigation admirably fitted to display the ingenuity of the writer; and in so far interesting to the reader, as it suggests a variety of curious speculations on the general principles of human nature, and on those common laws of our moral constitution, which lead to the origin of arts and sciences, the improvement of manners, and by a gradual progress to all the refinements of social life. It must be owned, however, that as the basis on which such theories are built is always to be suspected, from the very scanty information which is to be obtained from authentic history, relative to the rude periods of society; and the slender faith which is due to the relations of travellers, often superficial observers, prone to the marvellous, or careless of verifying extraordinary accounts; there is occasion for much caution in giving our assent to any important conclusions deduced from such uncertain premises. To readers of a metaphysical turn, and even to those of a lively imagination and sanguine temperament, who are caught by a beautiful and artful hypothesis, such inquiries afford the highest plea-

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sure; while by the more sober, cautious, yet penetrating intellect, they are received with jealousy, scrutinized with phlegm, and in the end coldly laid aside, as airy, vague, and unsubstantial speculations.

It will be very evident that these remarks, whether just or otherwise, can only apply to such parts of this elaborate work, as consist of that species of reasoning above alluded to, and which is employed particularly in accounting for the earliest improvements in the social order, when man is just emerging from barbarism, and when the records of his history are few and uncertain. But the *Sketches of the History of Man*, comprise a variety of ingenious disquisitions on the most important topics of Moral Philosophy, Politics, Economics and Legislation, of which the *data* are alike abundant, as their authority and certainty are unquestionable. On these interesting subjects, the talents and industry of the Author have furnished a great body of useful information; while the hand of a master is every where conspicuous, in the judicious arrangement of his materials, and in the skill with which they

are combined, to form separate treatises on the various topics of inquiry; yet all bearing relation to each other, as the parts of a general system.

Progress of Man from barbarism to civilization.

Thus, the arrangement appears easy and natural, when, after treating of the progress of men with respect to *Food* and *Population*, or the general doctrines which regard the preservation and continuance of the species, the next step in the inquiry relates to the origin of *Property;* which being once acknowledged, a foundation is laid for a most natural exercise of that right, in exchange or barter, which is the beginning of *Commerce.* A people thus far advanced, must have made some progress in the *Useful Arts:* A gradual improvement in the productions of these, leads easily to the *Fine Arts*, which give exercise to *Taste.* The advancement of *Manners* keeps pace with the arts: but the *State of Women*, in all nations, reciprocally influences and is influenced by the progress of manners. As the arts and manners are improved, *Luxury* increases, which, within due bounds, contributes to the highest enjoyment of social

BOOK III. life, but, carried to an extreme, produces the corruption and final dissolution of a State.

Such is the Author's plan in the first of the three great divisions of his work; and the arrangement of the others is equally natural and perspicuous.

The Second Book embraces the Author's doctrines on the subjects of Government, Finances, and Political Economy.

Govern-ment. In his general views of *Government*, his comparison of the different forms, in point of advantages and defects, his delineation of the progress of States from small to great, and the reverse, the Author adopts many of the doctrines of Montesquieu, though without a servile adherence to his opinions, which, in several instances, are more specious than solid. In estimating the comparative merits of the different forms of Government, Lord Kames proposes a criterion which pleases at first-sight, from its simplicity: That, that form is the best which tends most to nourish the spirit of patrio-

tism. Yet, may it not be questioned, whether the patriotic spirit, though certainly incapable of a vigorous existence, where the condition of the subject is unhappy from the tyranny of his governors, be in every case a measure of his positive happiness and prosperity? Patriotism was no where so vigorous as in the Lacedæmonian Republic: yet surely the condition of man cannot, with truth, be affirmed to have been either really dignified or prosperous under that extraordinary institution, which encouraged, in some instances, a breach of the moral duties; and which extinguished even the natural affections, those prime sources of human enjoyment, and firmest bonds of the social union.

Finances.

On the subject of *Finances*, the Author's observations are highly worthy of attention. They unfold those general principles regarding the public revenue, which are interesting alike to the Statesman and Legislator, whose province it is to direct the raising of those supplies which furnish it, and to the individuals from whose property they are to be drawn. On this subject, one ge-

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neral observation of the Author cannot be too earnestly inculcated; That Taxes are never of an indifferent nature to the public good; they are either positively advantageous, or positively detrimental: they are not unfrequently more oppressive to individuals than beneficial to the public. On the other hand, it is possible, for the most part, so to frame them, that what is taken immediately from the individual, shall be more than repaid to him, by the general effect of the tax in the promotion of industry, manufactures and commerce. Agreeably to these enlarged notions, the Author canvasses the nature and effects of many of the existing taxes under our own government; adverts occasionally to the policy of other nations in similar articles of finance; and exposes the errors into which Statesmen have fallen, from the influence of narrow views of supplying the coffer of the State in the most simple and expeditious manner, though by expedients which exhaust the springs of future revenue, in as much as they discourage particular branches of industry, and thus sap the foundations of the national wealth.

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The new doctrines in political economy.

In the disquisitions of Lord Kames on these and other subjects of political economy, the intelligent reader will be sufficiently aware, that he is not to look for that system which has of late obtained a very general prevalence, and of which the practical influence has been extensively felt, in various new arrangements, particularly of commercial policy, in our own, and some of the continental kingdoms of Europe. Mr Smith's elaborate work on *The Wealth of Nations*, which first completely unfolded these doctrines, was not published till two years after the appearance of the work of Lord Kames. To the writings of QUESNAI, TURGOT, and others of the French economists, he was altogether a stranger; and although the Political Essays of his friend David Hume, which perhaps gave the first hint of that enlarged policy with regard to the freedom of trade, which forms the basis of the new system, were certainly known to him; yet as these novel opinions are thrown out by that ingenious writer rather in the way of doubts regarding the prevailing doctrines of commerce, than as actually substituting a wiser and better policy in their

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stead, it is no wonder that his notions, however rational, were not sufficiently authoritative either with the partizans of the old commercial system, or with such men as had been long accustomed to form opinions for themselves.

Yet it is pleasing to remark, and it affords indeed an additional presumption in favour of the new doctrines, that their general principles stand acknowledged even by those who had no suspicion of their extensive application, or the changes they were destined to produce on the actual arrangements of commercial policy; and who perhaps would have resisted those changes as rash and empirical experiments. Thus Lord Kames, in his Sketch on the Origin and Progress of Commerce, maintains the following enlightened doctrine with regard to the jealousies concerning the balance of trade: "How ignorantly do people struggle "against the necessary connexion of causes "and effects. If money do not overflow, "a commerce in which the imports exceed "in value the exports, will soon drain a "nation of its money, and put an end to

" industry. Commercial nations, for that
" reason, struggle hard for a favourable ba-
" lance of trade; and they fondly imagine
" that it cannot be too favourable. If too
" advantageous to them, it must be disad-
" vantageous to those they deal with; which
" proves equally ruinous to both. They
" foresee, indeed, but without concern, im-
" mediate ruin to those they deal with; but
" they have no inclination to foresee, that
" ultimately it will prove equally ruinous
" to themselves. It appears to be the in-
" tention of Providence, that all nations
" should benefit by commerce, as by sun-
" shine; and it is so ordered, that an un-
" equal balance is prejudicial to the gainers,
" as well as to the losers: the latter are imme-
" diate sufferers; but not less so ultimately
" are the former. This is one remarkable
" instance, among many, of providential
" wisdom in conducting human affairs, in-
" dependant of the will of man; and fre-
" quently against his will. An ambitious
" nation, placed advantageously for trade,
" would willingly engross all to themselves,
" and reduce their neighbours to be hewers
" of wood and drawers of water. But an

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" invincible bar is opposed to such avarice,
" making an overgrown commerce the
" means of its own destruction. The com-
" mercial balance, held by the hand of Pro-
" vidence, is never permitted to preponde-
" rate much to one side; and every nation
" partakes, or may partake, of all the com-
" forts of life *."

The consonance of these observations with the doctrines of the author of *The Wealth of Nations*, is very remarkable.

" Nothing, (says Mr Smith †), can be
" more absurd than the prevailing doctrine
" of the Balance of Trade, on which almost
" all the regulations of commerce are found-
" ed. When two places trade with one
" another, this doctrine supposes, that if
" the balance be even, neither of them ei-
" ther loses or gains; but if it leans in any
" degree to one side, that one of them loses
" and the other gains in proportion to its

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* *Sketches of the History of Man*, Book 1. Sketch IV.

† *Wealth of Nations*, Book IV. Chap. iii.

" declension from the exact equilibrium. " Both suppositions are false. That trade " which, without force or constraint, is na- " turally and regularly carried on between " any two places, is always advantageous, " though not always equally so, to both.— " By such maxims as these, nations have " been taught, that their interest con- " sisted in beggaring all their neighbours. " Each nation has been made to look with " an invidious eye upon the prosperity of " all the nations with which it trades, and " to consider their gain as its own loss. " Commerce, which ought naturally to be " among nations, as among individuals, a " bond of union and friendship, has be- " come the most fertile source of dis- " cord and animosity. The same maxims " which would direct the sense of one, or " ten, or twenty individuals, should regu- " late the judgment of one, or ten, or " twenty millions, and should make a whole " nation regard the riches of its neighbours " as a probable cause and occasion for itself " to acquire riches.—The modern maxims " of foreign commerce, by aiming at the

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"impoverishment of all our neighbours, so "far as they are capable of producing their "intended effect, tend to render that very "commerce insignificant and contemp-"tible *."

* While acquiescing in the general solidity of these doctrines, I would not be understood as hazarding any opinion of my own, on a subject which I have always considered as of the utmost intricacy: I mean, to what extent some of those principles, which are the foundation of the reasonings of Mr Smith, and other economical writers of the same school, may with safety be carried. That they are not to be pushed to an extent so unlimited as that ingenious writer contends for, I think we must be convinced from actual experience, which has proved the necessity, in certain emergencies, for some restrictions on that freedom of disposal, which in general every man ought to have of his wealth and talents. It may be perfectly true, that the price of industry, and of all its fruits, if left entirely free, will, like water, arrive in time at its just level; but it is equally true, that this process of nature, though sure, may be so slow, that a nation shall in the mean time suffer all the misery of famine, from the selfish schemes of ill-directed avarice. Can it be denied, that it is the duty of a wise Government, in its care of the common weal, to use its powers for the prevention of so formidable an evil; though it should thereby impose a temporary restraint on the rights of individuals? The parallel which an able writer has drawn between the opinions of TURGOT and NECKER on this important subject, appears to me to be the result of a sound judgment, and to contain much matter for serious consideration.

CHAP. V.

Police with respect to the Poor.

Of Lord Kames's speculations on political economy, there are none more deserving of attention than those which respect the pro-

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" *Turgot* traitoit en maladie chronique l'épuisement et la " ruine des finances et du crédit. La sagesse de son régime, " ses moyens d'amélioration, les encouragemens et les sou- " lagemens qu'ils donnoit à l'agriculture, la liberté rendue au " commerce et à l'industrie, ne promettoient que des succès " lents, et que des ressources tardives, lorsqu'il y avoit des " besoins urgens aux quels il falloit subvenir. Son système " de liberté pour toute espèce de commerce, n'admettoit dans " son étendu, ni restriction, ni limites; or, à l'égard de l'ali- " ment de première necessité, quand même cette liberté ab- " solue n'auroit eu que des périls momentanés, le risque de " laisser tarir pour tout un peuple les sources de la vie, " n'étoit point un hazard à courir sans inquiétude. L'obsti- " nation de *Turgot* à écarter du commerce des grains toute " espèce de surveillance, ressembloit trop à l'entêtement. " ——— *Turgot*, pour le commerce, l'industrie et l'agricul- " ture ne pouvoit souffrir le régime réglémentaire de *Col-* " *bert*; il regardoit comme un droit inhérent à la propriété, " une liberté sans réserve de disposer, chacun à son gré, de " son bien et de ses talens; il vouloit qu'on laissât l'intérêt " personnel se consulter lui-même, et se conduire, persuadé " qu'il se conduiroit bien, et que de l'action réciproque des " intérêts particuliers résulteroit le bien général. *Necker*, " plus timide, pensoit que l'intérêt, dans presque tous les " hommes, avoit besoin d'être conduit et modéré; qu'en at- " tendant qu'il eut reçus les léçons de l'expérience, il seroit " bon d'y suppléer par la sagesse des réglemens; que ce

BOOK III. visions for the maintenance of the *Poor*. I enter not into the different opinions which

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" n'étoit point à la cupidité privée, qu'il falloit confier le soin " du bien publique; que si, pour la tranquillité et pour la " sureté d'une nation entière, la liberté civile, la liberté mo- " rale, devoient être réstreintes et soumises à des loix, il " étoit juste aussi, que la liberté du commerce pût être mo- " dérée et même suspendue toutes les fois surtout qu'il y al- " loit du salut commun; que la propriété des biens de pre- " mière nécessité n'étoit pas assez absolument individuelle, " pour donner à une partie de la nation le droit de laisser " périr l'autre; et qu'autant il seroit injuste de tenir ces " biens à vil prix, autant il le seroit à les laisser monter à " une valeur excessive; qu'enfin, laisser le riche avare dicter " au pauvre avec trop d'empire la dure loi de la nécessité, ce " seroit mettre la multitude a la merci du petit nombre, et " qu'il étoit de la sagesse et du devoir de l'administration " de tenir entre eux la balance.

" L'avarice, disoit *Turgot*, ne sera point à craindre, où " regnera la liberté; et le moyen d'assurer l'abondance, c'est " de laisser aux objets de commerce une pleine circulation. " Le blé sera cher quelquefois; mais la main-d'œuvre sera " chere aussi, et tout sera mis au niveau.

" Quand le prix du blé montera progressivement, disoit " *Necker*, sans doute il réglera le prix de l'industrie, et de " tous les salaires, et personne n'en souffrira; mais quand " le blé s'élevera subitement à une valeur excessive, le " peuple aura long tems à souffrir avant que tout soit de ni- " veau."—*Oeuvres de* MARMONTEL; *Mémoires d'un Père pour l'Instruction de ses Fils*, tom. iii.

have been entertained on this important subject; but shall merely exhibit an outline of his particular doctrines.

The support of those who are truly necessitous from disease or calamity; who have the will, but not the power to labour, is a duty not less enforced by religion, than by moral obligation, and the feelings of humanity. In England this duty is strongly felt, but an unwise policy has directed the provisions for discharging it. The English poor-laws are both unjust and oppressive. It is injustice, when the frugal and industrious are taxed to maintain the idle and the worthless. It is oppression, when much greater sums are levied than go to the support of the poor, and the surplus is abused to enrich the collectors and overseers. The poor-rates of England amounted, in Dr Davenant's time, to £700,000 a-year; they now extend to near three millions *. The

* They were said to amount, in the year 1801, a season of scarcity, to the enormous sum of ten millions.

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notorious abuses attending their collection and application, have the worst effect on the mind of the people: they exasperate them against their rulers, and encourage the belief that all taxes are misapplied. From the same source proceed evils of still greater magnitude: depopulation, idleness, profligacy, and the extinction of the humane affections. To avoid a continually increasing burden, proprietors of land drive the poor out of their parishes; cottages are demolished, marriage discouraged, husbandry and manufactures impeded from the scarcity of hands, and every parish is at war with its neighbours concerning pauper-settlements and removals. The price of labour, which, in Scotland, is always near a level, varies in England not only in every county, but almost in every parish. In England, every man, if he chooses, may be idle; for the parish provides for him: this security makes him rate his wages as high as he pleases; for he knows that, though wanting occupation, he can never starve. Thus the first motive to industry, the fear of want, is entirely removed: idleness ensues, with its inseparable attendants, profligacy, disease,

and misery. The immoral effects of these unwise institutions are not confined to their immediate objects. The man who is not obliged to work for his children ceases to have a regard for them; and they who do not depend on his industry for their support, and who see their parent idle and a profligate, lose for him all natural affection. The private charities of individuals are restrained by the grievance of the public tax, general humanity is weakened, and a cold and hardened selfishness predominates.

Of the various proposals for remedy of the evils attending the poor-laws, as they stand at present, none have hitherto been found effectual. The good policy of hospitals is extremely doubtful; witness those for the reception of prostitutes: one relieves them when pregnant; another cures them of disease; a third makes them welcome when they are worn out, and no longer fit for their occupation. What are all these, but so many legal encouragements to prostitution? and they are known to have that effect. The hospital for foundlings is yet

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more pernicious in its consequences: while it prompts to debauchery, it mines the principle of natural affection. In some countries it is a Golgotha of the human race; a third of the infants born in Paris are sent to the *Enfans trouvés*, where they perish through mismanagement and corrupted air. Infants exposed must be taken care of: but let there be no premium for exposing them. ——Some institutions of this nature, however, are wise in their principle, and beneficial in their effects! An hospital for Orphans, if properly regulated, like that of Edinburgh; an hospital for the sick and wounded; an hospital for the decayed seaman and soldier, who have faithfully served their country; all these are wise, humane, and useful institutions.

But for that numerous class who are merely indigent, is it impossible to devise any legal establishment which shall not be pernicious? The Author inclines to that opinion; and chiefly for this reason, That as no distinction can, under such public provisions, be made between virtue and vice, they are in reality a premium for idle-

ness. He asks, By what unhappy prejudice are we led to suppose, that the Almighty, so provident otherwise of the welfare of his creatures, has abandoned the poor to perish, unless the laws shall interfere to support them? Compassion, natural to the human race, is, in his opinion, abundantly sufficient to enforce this obligation. It points to every man the objects, and directs the measure of his bounty. Voluntary charity supports the humane affections, and strengthens the tie of sympathy between the poor and the rich, the prosperous and the unhappy; where compulsive provisions freeze the source of affection, and break that bond of nature.

Principles and Progress of Reason.

The third division of the Author's work unfolds his views of the Principles and Progress of Reason, of Morality, and of Theology. All human knowledge, in his opinion, is either *intuitive* or *discursive*. Under the former description, is comprehended every thing that we derive from a single act of perception; as the knowledge acquired by means of the senses; and the conviction we have of the truth of many abstract but simple propositions; as the belief

BOOK III. of our own existence, and that of the material world: Under the latter division is contained every thing which requires that process of the mind termed Reasoning; which leads, by certain intermediate steps, to the proposition that is to be made evident. The external senses attain much sooner to perfection than the internal; and the knowledge derived from the former, is both more quickly acquired, and more certain, than what is derived from the latter. Reason is of slow growth; it is subject to various impediments, which retard its progress; and the accurate knowledge of these impediments, in order to their removal, is the most effectual means to promote its advancement. To enumerate these with precision, is therefore a principal part of the Author's design; and he presents a very instructive, though a very mortifying catalogue of those singular aberrations of the human understanding; those false doctrines and opinions, which, at different periods, have maintained an extensive prevalence with mankind, and retarded the progress of reason in the search of truth. These have their origin in those prejudices, or wrong

biases of the understanding, which Lord Bacon, in his fanciful language, has termed the *Idols of the mind**; and which he has been most successful in his endeavour to destroy, by a fair exposition of their pernicious influence. To that great genius, likewise, the world is indebted for the demolition of the ancient school-dialectics; and for substituting in their room, the only certain guide to the discovery of truth, or, as he called it, a *new organ*, or *instrument* of knowledge,—the mode of discovery by Induction and Experiment. Before his time, philosophy was fettered by forms and syllogisms. The logics of Aristotle held the human mind in bondage for nearly two thousand years; a miserable jugglery, which was fitted to render all truth problematical, and which disseminated a thousand errors, but never brought to light one useful piece of knowledge.

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* Idols of the Tribe, the Den, the Market, and the Theatre.—See *De Augmentis Scientiarum*, lib. v. cap. iv. sect. 3.

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But this extraordinary fabric of delusion, is, in itself, a very curious object of investigation. There must be merit, of one sort or another, in that system, which could maintain an influence so lasting and so universal. It is, therefore, with much propriety, that the Author, in an Appendix to the Sketch on the Progress of Reason, has given a complete analysis of the Logics of Aristotle, compiled with great skill and precision by his ingenious friend, Dr Reid. In this delineation, we contemplate, with a mixed emotion of wonder and regret, a system which is the combined effort of wisdom and of folly; and which, in the apt comparison of Lord Kames, displays, like the Pyramids of Egypt, or the hanging gardens of Babylon, an incredible waste of genius and labour, to no purpose of real utility.

Principles of Morality.

In the speculations of Lord Kames on the subject of *Morals*, we find the same train of thought and reasoning which forms the substance of his *Essays on Morality and Natural Religion*; but the doctrines are here given with greater amplitude, and are

more systematically digested, than in that earlier work.

The fundamental principles of morality are laid down with precision, and are shewn to have their origin in a few simple laws of the human constitution. The perception of the qualities of right and wrong in voluntary actions, which is the foundation of the moral conduct of man, is intuitive. It depends not on reason; for those qualities are perceived antecedently to all investigations of the reasoning faculty; and supposing them hid from our perception, we could never discover them by a train of reasoning. They are the objects of a particular sense, called the *Moral Sense*. That every individual, whose constitution is not imperfect, is endued with this sense, more or less distinct, is as certain as that he possesses the senses of seeing and hearing. The instinctive nature, and therefore the certainty, of the moral sense, is the foundation of Lord Kames's philosophy.

He allows, that the prevalence of some very erroneous ideas of morality in different

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nations, and in different periods of society, affords a proof, that the moral sense has not been equally perfect at all times, and in all countries: but he argues, that this no more concludes against the uniform certainty of that principle of our nature, than a vitiated perception, occasionally observable with respect to the objects of the external senses, a faulty taste in the productions of the fine arts, or a monstrous birth among the productions of the animal world, would infer the uncertainty of the corresponding laws of Nature with respect to those perceptions or objects. Without this uniformity of the moral sense, men would be unqualified for society; they could have no confidence in each other's faith; discord would be universal; and laws could have no obligation.

Thus, founded on intuitive perception, and universal in its influence, the moral sense, or Conscience, is the voice of GOD within us, constantly admonishing us of our duty, and requiring from us no other exercise of our faculties than attention merely. By one branch of this sense, we are taught what we ought to do, and what we ought

not to do; by another, what we may do, or leave undone. But society would be imperfect, if the moral sense stopped here. A third branch of this great law of our nature informs us, that we are accountable for our conduct to our fellow-creatures; and lastly, it teaches us with equal certainty, that we are accountable to our Maker.

Such are the outlines of Lord Kames's System of Morality. A standard being thus established for regulating the moral conduct of man, the Author proceeds to investigate those various principles which are the motives of human actions, of which the propriety or impropriety is to be determined by that standard: And it is in this detail of the motives of our conduct, that he has been censured by some philosophers for multiplying unnecessarily the instinctive principles of our nature. This objection I formerly noticed, in treating of the Author's *Essays on Morality and Natural Religion* *; and I have little to observe in addition to

* See *supra*, Book I. Chap. v. vol. i. p. 183.

BOOK III. the remarks already made on that subject. Lord Kames may possibly in a few instances have erred, in ascribing to separate principles of our nature, some phenomena which might with more propriety have been classed under the same general law. This is a censure which has been applied by Dr Priestley and others, to Reid, Beattie, and, in general, to what has been termed the Scotch School of Philosophy. But the error, if in truth it be one, is of very small importance. It is much less hurtful to the progress of knowledge, than the opposite extreme of rash and superficial generalization. It is well observed by an acute philosopher, "That the obvious tendency of the latter, "is to withdraw the attention from the "study of particular phenomena; while "the effect of the former, is only to detain "us in this preliminary step a little longer "than is absolutely necessary *."

Progress of Morality.

From a detail of the Principles of Morality, Lord Kames proceeds to delineate its

* *Life of Dr Reid, by* Professor D. STEWART, p. 94.

progress, from its infancy among savages, to its maturity among polished nations. In this investigation, we perceive the moral sense, like our other senses external and internal, weak at first and imperfect, and gradually acquiring strength, like them, from experience and culture. The progress is similar in nations and in individuals. "The "savage state is the infancy of a nation, "during which the moral sense is feeble, "yielding to custom, to imitation, and to "passion. Hatred and revenge, the great "obstacles to moral duty, raged without "controul, while the privilege of avenging "wrongs was permitted to individuals. "But hatred and revenge yielded gradually "to the pleasures of society, and to the "growing authority of the moral sense; "and benevolent affections prevailed over "the dissocial passions.——In the progress "from maturity to a declining state, a na- "tion differs widely from an individual. "Old age, puts an end to the latter; there "are many causes that weaken the former; "but old age is none of them; if it be not "in a metaphorical sense. Riches, selfish-

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"ness, and luxury, are the diseases that "weaken prosperous nations. These dis- "eases following each other in a train, cor- "rupt the heart, dethrone the moral sense, "and make an anarchy in the soul. Such "are the outlines of the progress of mora- "lity, from birth to burial *."——In this branch of his subject, the Author founds every step of his reasoning upon the evidence of historical facts; referring for the most part to the authorities on which they rest, and thus making the reader himself the judge of the weight and credit to be ascribed to them, and of their aptitude to support his speculative conclusions †.

Principles of Theology.

The last division of the work embraces the *Principles and Progress of Theology*. In this important inquiry, although the

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* *Sketches of the History of Man*, Book III. Sk. 2. sect. 2.

† It must be owned, however, that the Author is not always so careful in this respect as he ought to have been. Many facts which occurred in the course of his reading, seem to have been entered in his common-place book without a reference to the authors from whom they are taken.

Author's propensity to multiply instinctive principles is visible in the very first step of his investigation, the error, (for it is palpably such), is not of any serious consequence to the subsequent reasoning. It matters little whether that most important of all truths, the existence of a Deity, rest for its evidence upon an innate sense, common to man with the ordinary affections of his nature, or whether it be the result of a process of reasoning so simple, as to present itself invariably to the mind, with the first developement of its rational powers. The latter was the Author's opinion, in common with other philosophers, when he treated this subject in his early work, the *Essays on Morality and Natural Religion:* And it were certainly to be wished, that he had preserved an uniformity of sentiment, rather than indulged a new supposition; which, though not at variance with the other, is liable to the strongest objections, and has, therefore, all the impropriety that attends the defence of a good cause by a weak argument *. On

* What is here said refers to the early editions of the *Es-*

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due consideration, every thinking mind must be convinced, that the existence of a Deity is not a proposition, resting on a similar basis with the evidence of our personal identity, or our belief of the existence of external objects, or in other words, an intuitive proposition. It is the result of a process of reasoning; but that of the simplest kind, and founded on premises which are self-evident, and belong to the class of *first principles*. The reasoning is no more than this: Every thing which has had a beginning of existence must have had a cause: and a combination of means adapted to produce a great variety of useful ends, implies wisdom, power and benevolence.

It is the more surprising, that the acute understanding of the Author should have failed to perceive the complete sufficiency of this moral evidence for the existence of a Deity, and should have thought it necessary to call in the weak aid of a disputable principle, when we find him employing one of the most beautiful illustrations that is any

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says on Morality; for, in the third edition of that work, the Author adopts the notion of an intuitive sense of Deity.

where to be met with, of that simple and natural process of reasoning, which operates even in the rudest minds to produce this universally diffused belief. He relates, on the evidence of Crantz, in his *History of Greenland*, the following conversation between a native of that country and a Danish missionary. "It is true," (says the Greenlander), "we were ignorant heathens, and "knew little of a God, till you came. But "you must not imagine, that no Greenlander thinks about these things. A ka- "jak, (a Greenland boat), with all its tackle "and implements, cannot exist, but by the "labour of man; and one who does not "understand it, would spoil it: But the "meanest bird requires more skill than the "best kajak; and no man can make a bird. "There is still more skill required to make "a man: By whom then was he made? "He proceeded from his parents, and they "from their parents. But some must have "been the first parents: Whence did they "proceed? Common report says that they "grew out of the earth: If, so, why do not "men still grow out of the earth? And

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" from whence came the earth itself, the " sun, the moon, the stars? Certainly there " must be some Being who made all these " things, a Being more wise than the wisest " man."

If the belief of a Deity could thus arise, by so natural and simple a chain of reasoning, as would occur at least to the greater number of rational beings, even in the rudest period of society, how could the Author feel himself at a loss to account for the universal diffusion of that belief among mankind; since the weakest and the most ignorant would, from that very ignorance and weakness, be the more prone to adopt implicitly, and acquiesce with reverence in, the belief of the wiser?

Progress of Theology.

But admitting, as we certainly must do, that the fundamental proposition, the existence of a Deity, is sufficiently proved, although the Author may have called in to his aid a superfluous and weak argument, every step in the succeeding deduction is traced by him with consummate skill and precision. We perceive distinctly the na-

tural progress of human opinion with respect to the Deity, as influenced at first by the condition of rude and uninstructed man, and debased or improved by the operation of those circumstances which either retard or advance his civilization, and the enlargement of his mental powers. The doctrine of Polytheism, the first stage in rude Theology; the belief of malevolent deities; of distinct orders of good and evil deities; of such as partake of the human passions, and are like them of a mixed character, of good and evil; are all the result of the condition of that society in which they are observed to prevail. Even after mankind have arrived at that degree of improvement, when an uniformity of belief takes place with respect to the great truths of Religion, the existence of a Supreme Being, and his infinite power, wisdom and beneficence; the varying sentiments entertained with regard to the most acceptable service and worship of that Almighty Being, which involve the consideration of sacrifices, oblations, penances, and all the subordinate train of opinions which give rise to various sects even in the same nation, and furnish endless matter of

BOOK III. theological controversy, are the natural and necessary effects of political situation, or the fruit of accidental circumstances influencing the state of manners, habits, or prejudices of a people.

The final inference which the Author draws from this detail of the progress of opinions with respect to the Deity, is equally the proof of a humane and of an enlightened mind. Toleration in matters of religion, is a moral duty of the highest order, and of universal obligation on the human race. The sublime prayer of Arnobius, is the true expression of the devotion of weak and erring man to his Creator: *Da veniam, Rex Supreme, tuos persequentibus famulos; et quod tuæ benignitatis est proprium, fugientibus ignosce tui nominis et religionis cultum. Non est mirum si ignoraris; majoris est admirationis si sciaris* * !

* " Forgive, Almighty Power, the persecutors of thy ser-
" vants; and in the peculiar benevolence of thy nature, par-
" don those men, whose unhappiness it is to be strangers to
" thy name and worship. That they should be ignorant of
" thy Divine Nature, is less the subject of wonder, than that
" any finite being should presume to know Thee aright !"

CHAPTER VI.

Controversial antagonists of Lord Kames's Philosophy of Man.—Dr Doig's Letters on the Savage State.—Lord Kames's acquaintance with the Author.—Reflections on Literary Disputes—and on the spirit which influences Literary Opinions—and Criticism.—Letter from Dr Blair on Sketches of Man.—On Lord Kames's style and manner of writing.

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Controversial antagonists of Lord Kames's Philosophy of Man. Dr Doig's Letters on the Savage State.

As the primary doctrine of Lord Kames's philosophy is, that the *savage state* was the original condition of man, in every part of the globe, and that all his advances to improvement and civilization have taken place through the gradual operation of the instinctive principles of his nature, his opinions, as might have been expected, found many opponents. Among these, one of the most ingenious, and beyond all question the most learned, was Dr Doig of Stirling;

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who, in *Two Letters on the Savage State*, addressed to Lord Kames, entered into a profound investigation of his hypothesis of the universality of that original condition of man; which he endeavoured to shew, was neither founded on the opinions of the ancient writers most worthy of credit, nor on the evidence of history; while, at the same time, it derived no support, from what we know of the actual progress of man in knowledge and in the arts.

Dr Doig observes, that if the opinions of ancient writers are to have weight in a question of fact, the degree of weight must depend altogether on the character of the writers. If, therefore, on the one hand, the notion of the original savage state of man is found to be countenanced by Mochus, Sanchoniatho, and some of the old Phœnician cosmogonists, who maintained those atheistical doctrines, which were afterwards adopted by Democritus and Epicurus; that scale of the balance is altogether outweighed by the authorities for the opposite opinion; namely, all the best of the Greek philosophers, those of both Academies, the sages

of the Italian and Alexandrian Schools, the Magi of Persia, the Bramins of India, and the Druids of Gaul.——If we appeal to actual History, the sacred books are decisive to the contrary of the hypothesis in question; and the evidence of the profane historians is equally positive to the same effect. The more extensive and populous of the ancient kingdoms, appear cultivated and improved at the commencement of their historical records; therefore, their antecedent barbarism can rest only on conjecture. The rudiments of Learning, Religion, Laws, Arts and Sciences, seem, among the nations of antiquity, to have diverged from two great points, the one on the banks of the Euphrates, the other on the Nile; and in proportion to their distance from those *foci* of illumination, the ancient nations appear to have been civilized or barbarous. But whence did those favoured regions receive their superior knowledge? The answer is, They possessed it from the beginning of all things, as a gift of the Creator.

To this, which may be termed the historic branch of the argument, the learned

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writer superadds a great deal of ingenious reasoning, founded on analogy, and on the known progress of the human mind. He remarks, that no nation once known to be barbarous, has ever emerged from that state by the sole operation of its native energies, and without foreign aid. The corresponding proof is found in those great tribes of savages discovered in modern times, who, in the possession of every advantage of climate and soil, are yet in a state of barbarism, and have been so from the beginning of time; no traces existing of an anterior period of civilization. If man, as some philosophers maintain, be every where the same animal, and endowed with the same original instincts, his advancement in similar circumstances must have been uniform and universal: but the fact, we know, is otherwise. In every nation of savages, there appears a repugnance to civilization: if forced upon them, they relapse when that force is withdrawn; and it is only by conquest and colonization, the improved thus incorporating with the barbarous, that a savage people ever makes advances to refinement.

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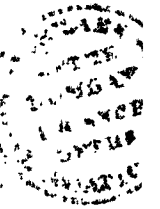
In support of the positions contained in the historical part of the preceding deduction, the writer appealed to the testimony of a great number of ancient authors; not only those in familiar use, and with whom every man of letters is acquainted, but many of the more abstruse of the philologers, grammarians and historians, who have treated particularly of oriental literature and antiquities, and whose writings have been explored only by a very few of the profoundly learned among the moderns.



Lord Kames's acquaintance with the Author.

These letters were written without the most distant view to publication; and the first of them, dated from Stirling, but without the subscription of the writer, being transmitted to Lord Kames, who was then passing the Christmas vacation at Blair-Drummond, his curiosity was roused to discover the author of a composition which bore evidence of a most uncommon degree of learning and ingenuity. In conversing on the subject with an intimate friend, Dr Graham Moir of Leckie, a gentleman of taste and erudition, and of great scientific knowledge, who frequently visited him in

BOOK III. the country, his Lordship producing the letter of his anonymous correspondent, "In "the name of wonder," said he, "Doctor, "what prodigy of learning have you got in "the town of Stirling, who is capable of "writing this letter, which I received a few "days ago?" The Doctor, after glancing "over a few pages, answered: "I think I "know him.—There is but one man who "is able to write this letter; and a most "extraordinary man he is;—David Doig, "the master of our Grammar School."— "What!" said Lord Kames; "A genius "of this kind, within a few miles of my "house, and I never to have heard of him! "And a fine fellow too: he tells his mind "roundly and plainly: I love him for that: "—he does not spare me: I respect him "the more.——You must make us ac- "quainted, my good Doctor: I will write "him a card; and to-morrow, if you please, "you shall bring him to dine with me." The interview took place accordingly; and to the mutual satisfaction of the parties. The subject of their controversy was freely and amply discussed; and though neither could boast of making a convert of his an-

tagonist, a cordial friendship took place from that day, and a literary correspondence began, which suffered no interruption during their joint lives *.——The *Letters on*

* Dr DAVID DOIG was the son of a small farmer in the county of Angus. His father died when he was an infant; and it was his good fortune that his mother entered into a second marriage with a worthy man, who, though in very moderate circumstances, and soon burdened with a young family of his own, discharged to him the duty of an affectionate parent. From a constitutional defect of eye-sight, he was twelve years of age before he had learnt to read: but as his intellects were uncommonly quick, he had no sooner overcome that difficulty, than he made so rapid a progress, that after three years instruction of a parish-schoolmaster, in Latin, writing, and arithmetic, he presented himself a candidate for a bursary, or endowment for poor scholars, in the University of St Andrew's, and obtained it, on a comparative trial of his abilities with other competitors. Having finished with great approbation the usual course of classical learning and philosophy, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and entered on the study of Divinity. Certain conscientious scruples, however, regarding some articles of the Westminster Confession of Faith, which is framed according to the principles of the most rigid Calvinism, prevented the prosecution of his views of entering into the Church. He taught for several years the parish-schools of Monifeith in Angus, and Kennoway and Falkland in Fife; when, on a vacancy of the mastership of the Grammar School of Stirling, his reputation as a teacher procured him an appointment from the Magistrates of the town to that office; which he discharged for forty years with

BOOK III. *the Savage State* were not printed till 1792, several years after the death of Lord Kames.

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the greatest ability, and with the respect and esteem of all who knew him. It is a fact somewhat remarkable, that he received on the same day a diploma of Master of Arts from his *Alma Mater* of St Andrew's, and an honorary degree of Doctor of Laws from the University of Glasgow. In addition to the most profound knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages, which he wrote with a classical purity, Dr Doig had successfully studied the Hebrew, Arabic, and other kindred dialects, and was deeply versed in Oriental literature. He has given an abundant proof of his proficiency in those studies, in the Dissertations on the subjects of *Mythology*, *Mysteries*, and *Philology*, which were composed by him for the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, at the request of his intimate friend, and the companion of his social hours, the Right Reverend Dr George Gleig *, the able and ingenious editor of the latter volumes of that great work, and the author of many of its most valuable articles. That part of the work which contains the article on Philology, was published in London in the same week with a *Dissertation on the Greek Verb* by Dr Vincent, now Dean of Westminster, who was so struck with the coincidence of Dr Doig's opinions on many points with his own, that he began an epistol ry correspondence with the author; and these two eminent scholars went hand in hand in their researches, and in a free communication of their opinions, with a liberality of sentiment which did honour to both. Such likewise was the conduct of the learned Mr Bryant, who had entered into a correspondence with Dr Doig

* Now one of the Bishops of the Scotch Episcopal Church.

The circumstances above detailed, are characteristic of an enlarged and liberal

on the subject of Ancient Mythology *. Dr Doig died in March 1800, at the age of 81. Besides his great erudition, the elegance of his taste was shewn in his favourite amusement, the composition of many small poetical pieces, both in English and Latin. Those of an epigrammatic turn are peculiarly excellent. The following elegiac stanzas, written by him on the subject of his own life and studies, and which were engraven on a marble monument, erected to his memory at the expence of the community of Stirling, would have done honour to the pen of a Markham, a Vincent Bourne, or even a Buchanan:

Edidici quædam, perlegi plura, notavi
Paucula, cum domino mox peritura suo.
Lubrica Pieriæ tentarem præmia palmæ,
Credulus, ingenio heu nimis alta meo.
Extincto famam ruituro crescere saxo
Posse putem, vivo quæ mihi nulla fuit!

The Writer of these Memoirs is happy to embrace this opportunity of paying a small tribute of respect to the memory of a man whom he esteemed and honoured; and whose correspondence for several years, in the latter part of his life, was a source to him of the most rational pleasure and instruction.

* Among other proofs of the profound learning of Dr Doig, is a Dissertation *On the Ancient Hellenes*, printed in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh*, vol. iii.

BOOK III. mind; without a tincture of that mean jealousy and resentment, which, to the disgrace of literature, are but too commonly felt by authors, and those not unfrequently of the highest reputation, towards their antagonists in controversy, or the opponents of their particular opinions. From the manner in which literary disputes are commonly conducted, it would seem, that a man of letters regards every topic which he has successfully handled, as a province subdued and annexed to his own dominion; which, therefore, it is an act of hostile aggression in any other to presume to enter, without acknowledging his sovereignty; and nothing less than treason, to dispute his laws, or question his absolute authority. It is in vain that we talk of a republic of letters. If the extent of the territory forbids the pretensions of a single individual to universal dominion, we observe in general a few heads, who establish a most tyrannical oligarchy, and rule, each in his own department, with the most despotic sway. Nay, such is the prevalence of the spirit of tyrannizing, that it pervades every rank of the subjects; and those who humbly bow to the supremacy of the chief,

avenge themselves for that degrading tribute, by exacting from their inferiors a like servile submission. But to leave metaphor: the sources of the jealousies and animosities of literary men, are the evil passions of pride and envy. Every intellectual achievement is apt to increase the self-esteem of the accomplisher; his merits, if acknowledged by a part of the public, swell his pride; and if denied or diminished by others, inflame his resentment. His portion of fame, however high, is seldom adequate to his own estimate of desert; and all whose talents have met with higher reward, or even whom a tide of fortune has elevated above him, are the objects of his spleen and envy. This is a disagreeable aspect of human nature, and we willingly turn from it to a more grateful subject of contemplation;—a man of high literary merit, who had not a taint of unbecoming pride, nor a spark of envy in his composition.

And on the spirit which influences literary opinions,—

It would be idle to say, that this eminent person was unconscious of the talents which he possessed, or was deficient in that proper degree of self-esteem, the natural con-

BOOK III. sequence of the respect which his character drew from the public: but no man ever formed his judgment of the merit of others with more perfect candour, or more liberally bestowed his praise on every species of desert, whether shewn in the works of literature, or in any department, even the humblest, of general usefulness. This beautiful feature of his character was not founded in a humane feeling alone: it had with him, in some degree, the sanction of a moral duty. If praise be the just reward of merit, it is an act of positive injustice to withhold that recompence, when it is truly due. To this breach of morality every one is awake, when he is himself the person defrauded; but he is not so conscious of the fault, when the reward withheld was due to another. We daily meet with persons of discernment, and even of worth and honourable feelings, who, though sensible to the merit of others, and highly approving of it in their own mind, yet cannot freely or voluntarily bestow their praise; who never part with it but when extorted; and even then, dispense it in such scanty pittance, and with so bad a grace, that it loses all its value. There

cannot be a surer indication of a little mind, than that inordinate self-love, which thus magnifies the consequence of its own judgments, overrates the value of its praise, and grudges to bestow a boon, which, though taking nothing from the giver, it conceives to be of the highest importance to the receiver. Most justly are such the objects of the poet's satire, who

> Unborn to cherish, sneakingly approve,
> And want the soul to spread the worth they love *.

How opposite to his character, who delighted to cherish worth, in whatever form it appeared, and to rouse, by liberal praise, the fire of genius; who candidly made allowance for different modes of thinking in all matters of opinion; and on whom the opposition to his own particular doctrines, produced no other effect, than a favourable regard for all engaged in a common cause, the search of truth! On this head, it may seem superfluous to add, what, in fact, ap-

* *Progress of Wit*, by AARON HILL.

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pears a necessary consequence,—that he took no pleasure in exposing the faults, or in displaying the weaknesses of others. If apparent, they were the subject of regret; if doubtful, of the most candid interpretation. He abhorred detraction in all its forms; and with the highest relish for wit, no ingenuity in the conception of a sarcastic jest, no poignancy of ridicule, if tinctured with malignity, could ever draw from him a smile of approbation. It was this amiable peculiarity of temper, which the author of a short but judicious memoir of his life, has particularly noticed, and marked by a most appropriate epithet, "the innocency of his mind *."

—And criticism.

From the same source from which arose his liberal and humane opinions of human character and conduct, proceeded the candid judgments which he formed of the works

* *Literary and Characteristic Lives*, by WILLIAM SMELLIE, F. A. S. Edin. "Life of Lord Kames." The short Sketch of Lord Kames's Life by Mr Smellie, was first published in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

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of literature. In the whole range of those ample discussions, in which he has exercised the utmost freedom of critical judgment, in canvassing the opinions of numberless authors, both on subjects of taste, and of political and moral sentiment, he has never on any occasion given way to the slightest sarcasm or personality. There is not to be found, in the whole of his voluminous writings, a single sentence which breathes a spirit of acrimony, or is marked by that asperity of censure, which, to the disgrace of the literary character, too often usurps the honourable name of Criticism, and gratifies its own malevolence in a shameful sacrifice to the worst passions of a corrupted public *. That, in common with all authors whose merit is considerable enough to obtain any share of the public applause, he had his share of illiberal criticism †, is known to

* Καλον των βλακειων ιδειν, is a maxim of Good Morals, as well as of Good Taste.

† "Malheur en effêt à l'ecrivain dont la malignité humaine "feroit assez peu de cas, pour le laisser jouir en paix de sa

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every reader acquainted with the lively railleries of VOLTAIRE, or the cold, but cutting sarcasms of WARBURTON, against all who dissented from their particular opinions, or opposed their prejudices *. He incurred the hatred of the one, as a supposed sceptical writer, and the malice of the other, for having presumed to censure the *Henriade*, and dared to exalt Shakespeare, in the comparison with Racine and Corneille, as possessing a superior knowledge of human nature. It is well known, that Voltaire, at first the highest encomiast of the English Poet, (though never capable of duly estimating his merits), became in the end deeply jealous of that increasing reputation with his countrymen, which threatened to obscure his own,—a sufficient cause of enmity against Lord Kames, one of the most

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" grande ou petite renommée: il pourroit même, sans un " grand raffinement d'amour propre, être humilié de cette " bienveillance dédaigneuse, et se plaindre de ne faire à per- " sonne assez d'ombrage pour mériter au moins un ennemi." —D'ALEMBERT, *Eloge de M. de St Aulaire.*

* See Appendix, NO. IV.

enlightened of Shakespeare's panegyrists and critics. But these angry shafts of prejudice or malignity, fell harmless, and short of their aim. They gave no disturbance to his equal mind, who never deigned to notice them, either in discourse or writing; and assuredly they have produced as little impression on the mind of the public.

Of a very different spirit was the free, but candid criticism of the ingenuous BLAIR, who, in the following letter, gives every praise that he thought truly due to the merits of the work to which he refers; while he censures without scruple, but in the mild and temperate tone, so characteristic of his mind, whatever appeared to him faulty or defective.

" *Edinburgh, April* 2. 1774.

" MY DEAR LORD,

Letter from Dr Blair on Sketches of Man.

" I write to return you thanks for the pleasure and instruction you have afforded me in the perusal of your *Sketches of Man.* You have touched on a very great variety

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of subjects; and on them all have suggested many ingenious and many useful thoughts. On some subjects, particularly of public concern; such as Finances, Poor-Laws, and the Military, you have done a great deal to remove inveterate prejudices, and to give openings which may lead to many improvements. The variety of facts and examples you have collected, is immense. I am sensible it was not to be expected, that you could authenticate them all. In such a multitude of instances, one must sometimes quote from memory. Probably, when you began to make these collections, you did not see the occasion for referring to all your authorities. Yet I could have wished, that where it was in your power, more authorities had been quoted, as they would have given your reasoning more weight; and the frequent want of them, is one of the greatest objections I find made to your work.

"Your theology is decent, unexceptionable, and even, in my view, pious. It is still doubtful with me, whether the belief of a Deity may not be accounted for without a

separate sense: First, from fear operating on savages, and leading them to think of invisible power; and then from the sense of cause and effect, as mankind gradually refine:—especially, as you admit that malevolent deities were first recognized; and that it was only in the progress of society, that benevolent powers were acknowledged.

"*Quær.*—To what is the belief of the immortality of the soul, or of a state after death, to be attributed; which I take to be as universal among mankind, as the belief of Deity? You do not touch upon this. If universality infers a *sense* as the *cause* of belief, why not this, as well as the other? How far is that universality an argument of the truth of this doctrine?

"You have exceedingly well explained and accounted for Idolatry. But what were the real sentiments of the Greeks and Romans, concerning their deified men, Jupiter, Juno, Bacchus, Venus, &c. You treat of these, only in the view of shewing how gross their theology was. But a difficulty

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which has often perplexed me lies here: Did they in truth believe the ridiculous stories concerning these gods, and their various actions? Was it possible they could have any serious sense of these gods, or pay any serious worship to them; whilst, as you shew, on many occasions, they treated them with contempt, and even exposed them to ridicule on the stage? Aristophanes, and even Plautus, is full of buffoonery on the gods. The latter instance is the more remarkable; for the Romans were one of the most religious of nations. Their Senate never assembled without religious rites. Their writers take notice, that as respect for religion declined, their virtue and their prosperity declined also. One would think that none but children could believe their absurd tales concerning their gods, or entertain any respect for such characters; and yet they formed the basis of a religion which Consuls and Senators revered. Such a glaring contradiction never appeared in any enlightened age. In one view, you would think that the Greeks and Romans only laughed at their gods; at other times

you see them full of reverence for them. I own I know not what to make of their religion *.

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* The general belief which prevailed with respect to the origin of many of the heathen deities, namely, that they were human beings, who, for their signal services on earth, had been translated to the skies,—*Quid? totum prope cœlum nonne humano genere completum est? Ipsi Dii majorum gentium a nobis profecti,* (Cic. *Tusc. Disp. l* 1.),—is sufficient to account for the notion of their still retaining the human passions, and a considerable portion of human weakness and imperfection. Such would naturally be the creed of the ignorant part of mankind: but that it was not that of the wiser, we have the testimony of the same author, who arraigns this belief, of the passions, vices and imperfections of the gods, as the consummation of folly and absurdity. "*Quæ res genuit* "*falsas opiniones, errores turbulentos, et superstitiones penè* "*aniles. Omnia traducta ad similitudinem imbecillitatis hu-* "*manæ,—Deorum cupiditates, ægritudines, iracundias; nec* "*verò, ut fabulæ ferunt, bellis prœliisque caruerunt: hæc et* "*dicuntur et creduntur stultissimè, et plena sunt futilitatis,* "*summæque levitatis.*"—*De Nat. Deor.* lib. ii. Was it, then, at all surprising that this futility and folly, as Cicero terms it, should become an object of ridicule to the enlightened Poets and Moralists? The railleries of Aristophanes and Plautus, and Lucian, on the vices of the gods, were nothing more than a satirical censure of the vulgar creed, which deserved all the ridicule they could throw on it: for what could be more hurtful to morality, than the belief that those beings to whom men paid divine honours, were as wicked and profligate as

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" Liberty and Necessity seem to me extremely well brought out; and as well reconciled with our moral feelings as they can admit to be.

" The account of Aristotle's Logic was a happy thought. It is well executed; sensible and distinct. I wish very much that we had some such account of the other parts of the Aristotelian Philosophy. It would be an excellent object for some man of erudition; and would be well relished by all the curious.

" The chapter on Women is an excellent one: particularly the account which you give of the connexion betwixt a *dos* on the man's side, inferring polygamy, and the slavery of women; and a *dos* on the woman's side, inferring good treatment of her. In

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themselves? The reflection of Chærea on seeing a picture of Jupiter and Danaë was perfectly natural:

At quem Deum! Qui templa cœli summa tonitru concutit.
Ego homuncio hoc non facerem? Ego vero illud ita feci, ac lubens.

TER. *Eun.* Act III.

one thing, however, I was disappointed; in not finding more illustration of the effect, which the manners of chivalry in the middle ages had on the treatment of women. These seem to me the foundation of all that we now call Gallantry, or respect paid to the sex; which is altogether a novel thing, and quite unknown to the ancients, among whom women were the objects only of love, or of animal passion; whereas, separated from either of these, a woman, even old or ugly, yet in the company of men, in modern times, is treated as a superior, and entitled to respect. That this strange alteration of manners should have arisen in a wild and a barbarous state of society throughout Europe, when chivalry began to idolize and worship the sex, appears to me a very remarkable phenomenon *.

* Gallantry, or the respect paid to women, independently of passion, though certainly more generally diffused in modern times, and become more a branch of manners, is by no means to be regarded, as this ingenious writer here observes, "as a novel thing, and quite unknown to the ancients." I will draw no argument from that singularity of the manners of the Greeks, among whom their courtezans, (significantly

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"You show indeed the seeds of this in the Scandinavian manners with respect to women; and you have given thereby an excellent illustration and justification of the authenticity of *Ossian's Poetry*: I think that a very curious part of your labours. But chivalry spread this respect to women much

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termed Ἑταίραι), attained from their superior mental endowments, a degree of respect and esteem from a Pericles, an Aristippus, and even a Socrates, which would never have been paid to their personal attractions *. The conversation that passed at the house of an Aspasia, and of a Ninon de l'Enclos, was alike the model of well-bred gallantry. The character of the Roman matrons in the best times of the Republic, and in the early ages of the empire, was high and respectable; and the well-born women of those times, sensible

* Οἷον δ' ἐχλευημενον ἔξοχον ἐχρην αὐτως
Πολλων δ' ἀνθρώπων Σωκράτη εν σοφίη,
. . . . . .
Οἶκι' ἐς Ἀσπασίης πωλευμενος, ἠυδα τι τέρμας
Εὑρε λογω . . . . . .

Athen. Deip. lib. xiii.

Even Socrates who all mankind surpass'd
In that true wisdom which best profits life,
When in Aspasia's house (his frequent haunt)
Gossipp'd in easy chat the live-long day.

farther than among the Scandinavians. We find it in the dark ages in Spain, Italy and France; the South as well as the North of Europe; which makes it, in my opinion, a remarkable æra in the history of women in general, and the men's behaviour towards them.

" The necessity and advantages of the *Dissocial Passions*, in the first Sketch of Book II., I think excellently brought out, and happily illustrated by the Jesuits' go-

equally with the men to the generous pride of ancestry, were not only studious to maintain the character of their family, in point of moral virtues, but by every endowment of the mind, to render themselves worthy of the esteem and confidence of their husbands, the chiefs of their country. And they enjoyed that esteem and confidence. The state of manners, it is true, did not allow that mixed society of the sexes, which is the characteristic of polished life in modern times; and, of course, what is now termed the *language of gallantry*, may, with truth, be deemed a *modern improvement*: " Cet " esprit si à la mode, qui joint l'exaggération à la fausseté " et qui consiste à dire aux femmes avec un esprit léger et " une âme de glace, tout ce qu'on ne croit pas, et tout ce " qu'on voudroit leur faire croire."—M. THOMAS *sur les Femmes*. Of this refinement of manners, the moderns without doubt may claim the exclusive merit.

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vernment in Paraguay. This appeared to me a capital *morçeau*. It convinced me fully, that agitation of passion is necessary to man, and that a golden age would be his ruin.

"The chapters on Food, Population, Commerce, Origin of Arts, were also very entertaining to me. I still think the first chapter of your book, one of the most unsatisfactory in it: You know I always hesitated about it. Nothing appears to me to be built upon it. You seem fond of proving, against Buffon, that Man is not every where the same animal; but of a different race and different *species*, according as you find him cowardly or courageous, hospitable or cruel to strangers; and yet, in the progress of your work, you treat man as every where a creature of the same species; and from uniform principles and causes, you account for the variations of his manner of living, opinions, affections, &c. which you had not ground to do, if the creature of whom you treated was different in kind, in different parts of the globe. Now, if the animal concerning whom you were to speculate, was

every where an animal of the same species, of what consequence was it to your speculations, whether the black and the white, the Samoied and the Hottentot, were originally derived from the first pair, or were separately created? This chapter, it seems to me, might have been wanting, with less consequence to your book than any other chapter in it *.

" I have thrown together some of the thoughts that occurred to me in reading. Whether they may suggest any thing worthy of your reflection, I cannot say. They will shew you, however, that I have been reading you with some attention, and that I write to you with the freedom of an old friend.——I am always, with the highest respect, my Lord, your most affectionate and obedient servant,

HUGH BLAIR."

* The respectable writer is not singular in this opinion; and his argument to shew, that this preliminary disquisition was at least unnecessary to the train of the Author's subsequent speculations, is invincible.

BOOK III.

On Lord Kames's style and manner of writing.

It seems here a proper place, after the notice of the most extensive, and, in point of subject, the most important of the Author's works, to make a few remarks on his style and manner of writing.

I have already observed, that it is not in the language or diction, but in the matter and substance, that the merit of Lord Kames's writings chiefly consists. That style was an object of his attention, is indeed proved by the numerous alterations in grammatical arrangement, and changes of expression, in every new edition of his several works *. Yet with all the pains he

* In a late excellent work, *The Life of Dr Beattie, by Sir* WILLIAM FORBES, is a letter of the former to Lord Glenbervie, in which are some very just observations on the difficulties which a Scottish writer experiences in attaining to the art of writing the English language with ease and correctness. There was perhaps no writer of this country better qualified to point out those difficulties than Dr Beattie, as there is none who has more happily surmounted them. "The greatest difficulty in acquiring the art of *writing* Eng-"lish, is one which I have seldom heard our countrymen "complain of, and which I was never sensible of, till I had "spent some years in labouring to acquire that art. It is, "to give a *vernacular* cast to the English we write. I must

bestowed on their revisal, and the attention which it is evident, from his critical disqui-

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" explain myself. We who live in Scotland are obliged to " study English from books, like a dead language. Accord- " ingly, when we write, we write it like a dead language, " which we understand, but cannot speak; avoiding, per- " haps, all ungrammatical expressions, and even the barba- " risms of our country, but at the same time without com- " municating that neatness, ease, and softness of phrase, " which appear so conspicuously in Addison, Lord Lyttelton, " and other elegant English authors. Our style is stately " and unwieldy, and clogs the tongue in pronunciation, and " smells of the lamp. We are slaves to the language we " write, and are continually afraid of committing *gross* " blunders; and, when an easy, familiar, idiomatical phrase " occurs, dare not adopt it, if we recollect no authority, " for fear of Scotticisms. In a word, *we* handle English, as " a person who cannot fence handles a sword; continually " afraid of hurting ourselves with it, or letting it fall, or " making some awkward motion that shall betray our igno- " rance. An English author of learning is the master, not " the slave, of his language, and wields it gracefully, because " he wields it with ease, and with full assurance that he has " the command of it.——In order to get over this diffi- " culty, which I fear is in some respects insuperable after all, " I have been continually poring upon Addison, the best " parts of Swift, Lord Lyttelton, &c. The ear is of great " service in these matters; and I am convinced the greater " part of Scottish authors hurt their style by admiring and " imitating one another. At Edinburgh, it is currently said

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sitions, he gave to the study of language, he is far from attaining to the praise of an elegant, or even at all times of a correct writer. He seems to have had no just conception of what constitutes the chief beauty of rhetorical composition; a variety in the structure of the periods, both with respect to their length, and the order of their component parts, so as to excite pleasure by contrast; while each is so framed, as separately by its melody to satisfy and fill the ear. His sentences are generally cast in the same mould; they have little variety in their form and arrangement; they are commonly too short, seldom consisting of more

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" by your critical people, that Hume, Robertson, &c. write " English better than the English themselves; than which, " in my judgment, there cannot be a greater absurdity. I " would as soon believe that Thuanus wrote better Latin " than Cicero or Cæsar, and that Buchanan was a more ele- " gant poet than Virgil or Horace. In my rhetorical lec- " tures, and whenever I have occasion to speak on this sub- " ject, I always maintain a contrary doctrine, and advise " those to study English authors who would acquire a good " English style."

than one clause or proposition *; or if drawn to a greater length, they are often faulty, from an involved construction †.

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* Thus, for example: "Human nature is not so perverse, "as, without veil or disguise, to punish a person acknow- "ledged to be innocent. An irregular bias of imagination, "which extends the qualities of the principal to its acces- "sories, paves the way to that unjust practice. That bias, "strengthened by indignation, against an atrocious criminal, "leads the mind hastily to conclude, that all his connexions "are partakers of his guilt. In an enlightened age, the "clearness of moral principles fetters the imagination, from "confounding the innocent with the guilty. There remain "traces, however, of that bias, though not carried so far as "murder." *Sketches*, vol. ii. p. 324. 4to edition. A reader of taste must be sensible of a displeasing monotony in this string of sentences of a like form; all of the simplest structure, nearly of equal length, and none of them satisfying the ear by the melody of a well-ordered period.

† "In the temperate climates of the old world, there is a "great uniformity in the gradual progress of men, from the "savage state to the highest civilization; beginning with "hunting and fishing, advancing to flocks and herds, and "thereafter to agriculture and commerce."—*Sketches*, vol. ii. p. 82. In this sentence there are three different substantive nouns, *uniformity*, *progress* and *civilization*, any one of which, as the period here stands, may be made to agree with the participle *beginning*. There is also an inaccuracy, or at least an unpleasant ambiguity, in the construction of the latter

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We are not unfrequently offended by a colloquial vulgarity of expression, which it is difficult to account for on the supposition of carelessness; and which probably the Author has mistaken for an ease and freedom of composition, or imagined to give a pleasing variety. "Selfishness, engrossing the "whole soul, eradicates patriotism, and "leaves not a *cranny* for social virtue."—*Sketches*, vol. i. p. 272. "If Ossian paint "from fancy, the *cloven-foot* will appear."—*Ib.* p. 285. "To enter *bluntly* on a sub-"ject of such intricacy, might *gravel* an "acute philosopher."—*Ib.* p. 141. "But

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clause of the period. To render the construction correct, the latter part of the sentence ought to have run thus: "A pro-"gress which begins with hunting and fishing, advances to "flocks and herds, (or to pasturage), and thence proceeds to "agriculture and commerce." There is a similar incorrectness in the construction of the following sentence: "Here it "is taken for granted, that we see external objects, and that "we see them with both eyes in the same place; inadver-"tently, it must be acknowledged, as it flatly contradicts "what he had been all along inculcating, that external ob-"jects are not visible, otherwise than in imagination."—*Essays on Morality*, p. 276. 3d edition. So likewise in this sentence: "Benevolence and kindly affection are too refined "for savages, unless of the simplest kind, such as the ties of "blood."—*Sketches*, vol. i. p. 270.

"it is *irksome to trudge* long in a beaten "track familiar to all the world; and, "therefore, leaving what is said above, like "a statue, *curtailed of legs and arms*, I "hasten to the history of the fine arts."—*Ib.* p. 117. "I shall *draw out of my budget* "one instance."—Pref. to *Elucidations*, p. 10. These are examples of a vulgarity and lowness of diction which must offend every reader of good taste.

A greater fault still, and which surprises yet more than it offends, in a writer whose sentiments breathe the purest morality, is a degree of coarseness and indelicacy of expression, for which one is altogether at a loss to account; unless, perhaps, on the supposition, that the ingenuous mind of the Author was truly insensible of that indelicacy; as the naked Indian is unconscious that his garb of nature can offend the chastest eye. And, for my own part, I am disposed to believe, that the Author was truly unconscious of the fault here alluded to. In a book intended, as he tells us, to be a popular work, and calculated for the perusal

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of the Ladies *, (his *Sketches of the History of Man*), how is it possible otherwise to account for the indelicacy of many parts of his chapter on *Manners*, and of that which details *The Progress of the Female Sex?* "To the pure, all things are pure."—Yet, after all, I have much doubt whether the generality of his readers will have the charity to account for the blemish here remarked, upon so refined a principle as that now supposed.

One circumstance in Lord Kames's manner of writing is, I think, deserving of notice, as being in a great measure peculiar to himself; the frequent reference he makes to the progress of his own mind in thinking and composing. He acquaints his reader of the task which he has set to himself; describes his feeling of the difficulties that lie in his way; lays down his plan for encountering them; marks his advances as he

* It was in that view, that translations were given of all the passages from the antient and foreign languages; a task performed, at Lord Kames's request, by the writer of these Memoirs.

goes on, his hopes of success, his fears, his partial disappointments, his renewed attempts; and finally, proclaims his triumph on the accomplishment of his purpose *.

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* "I give notice to my reader that I am now ready to "enter upon the rules of arrangement. Instead of a painful "and tedious examination of passions and emotions, I pro- "pose to confine my inquiries to such attributes, relations "and circumstances in the fine arts, as are chiefly employed "to raise agreeable emotions. Attributes of single objects "shall take the lead, to be followed with particulars, which, "depending on relations, are not found in single objects. "Dispatching next some coincident matters, I proceed to my "chief aim, which is, to establish practical rules for the fine "arts, derived from principles previously established. This "is a general view of the intended method, reserving, how- "ever, a privilege to vary it in particular instances where a "deviation may be commodious. I begin with Beauty."— "In adhering close to the subject, I foresee difficulties; and "yet by indulging such a circuit as may be necessary, I shall "certainly incur the censure of wandering. Be it so; the "dread of censure is nothing in opposition to what is right." —"We are now prepared for examples of pleasant passions "that are disagreeable, and of painful passions that are agree- "able.—One specimen, being a fine illustration, shall be our "present entertainment."—"In order to fulfil my engage- "ment, it must be premised, that an agreeable cause produ- "ces always a pleasant emotion."—"Having therefore hap- "pily unravelled the knotty part, I proceed with alacrity to "what remains."—*Elements of Criticism, passim.*—"I cheer- "fully spread my sails in a wide ocean, not without hopes of

BOOK III. This peculiarity of manner, though rather unsuitable to a grave and dignified subject, and frequently displaying too much of egotism in the writer, is sometimes neither useless nor displeasing. It keeps the attention awake by repeated admonitions; it relieves the irksomeness of an abstruse speculation by its tone of familiarity; and it gives the reader an interest in the subject, by making him in some measure a partner with the Author in his enterprize, and a sharer in his discoveries.

The truth is, that many of Lord Kames's compositions bear evidence, that they are not the offspring of a previous deep acquaintance with the subject on which he had prepared to write; but are rather the detail of his investigations on a topic in some degree new to him, and of which he had resolved to make himself master. They are like the record of a chemist's experiments, who, from

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" importing precious merchandize.—And now I present my " reader with the fruits of my labour."—*Sketches of the History of Man*, vol. i. p. 308.

the success or failure of his processes, and a series of well-directed combinations and analyses, establishes general principles, and at length brings out an ingenious system or theory of his branch of science. That such was truly his method of study and composition, he was at no pains to conceal; but, on the contrary, recommended it to his literary pupils. The late Sir Gilbert Elliot once complaining to him that he understood very little of some particular subject of political economy, and expressing an earnest wish for information; "Shall I tell you, my "friend, (said the other), how you will come "to understand it? Go, and write a book "upon it."

I have often thought, that the Author's manner of writing took its character in some degree from his profession. It was his custom always to dictate his compositions to an amanuensis. His disquisitions have much the air of a pleading or an oration: he generally speaks in the first person: he makes frequent apostrophes, as an orator to his audience; appeals to the judgment or the feelings of his reader; and, from time to

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time, arouses him by a direct call upon his attention, as if he suspected it to be wandering. He frequently supposes an antagonist pleading against him, and supporting with ingenuity the opposite side of the dispute: he puts a home question; presses a point conceded by his opponent; allows the weight of some of his arguments; corrects mistakes, as scorning to take an unfair advantage; but never fails in the end to claim a complete victory *. This gives a sort of dramatic interest to his reasonings, which, even when employed on the most abstruse subjects, are seldom apt to fatigue his readers; but convey profound instruction, without the formality and the dryness

* "To do my antagonist all justice, I grant."—"To relieve myself from the languid uniformity of a continued "defence, I will on this occasion change hands, and try my "fortune in making an attack."—"I come now to the point, "by putting a plain question."—"Not satisfied with reducing my opponent to this dilemma, I undertake to prove, "though not incumbent on me."—"But in a matter of so "great importance, I cannot rest satisfied with a successful "defence; I aim at a complete victory."—"Will my opponent now have the assurance to affirm." &c.—*Essays on the Principles of Morality, passim.*

of a professed lecture.——On the whole, if we cannot, consistently with impartial criticism, affirm, that Lord Kames is either an elegant, a pure, or a correct writer, we must allow that his composition is always clear and perspicuous, announcing his meaning with precision, simple in its structure, aiming at no ambitious ornaments; and that his manner possesses an agreeable animation and earnestness, which fixes the attention of the reader, while it convinces him that the Author speaks from a firm persuasion of the truth of the doctrines he inculcates.

MEMOIRS

OF

LORD KAMES.

BOOK IV.

CHAPTER I.

Lord Kames's agricultural pursuits.—Picture of the state of Scotland by Fletcher of Salton:—His projected reforms.—Obstacles to the improvement of Agriculture.—Earliest attempts towards its advancement.—Effects of the Rebellion in 1745.—Plans of the Commissioners for the Annexed Estates.—Wight's Agricultural Surveys.—Plan of a Board of Agriculture.—Lord Kames's Gentleman Farmer.—Character of that Work.—Observations concerning Planting.—Letters from Sir John Pringle to Lord Kames.

CHAP. I. Lord Kames's agricultural pursuits.

It has been already remarked, that among those objects of general utility to which the patriotic mind of Lord Kames was more

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particularly directed, there was none which occupied a greater share of his attention than the improvement of the agriculture of his native country.

Picture of the State of Scotland by Fletcher of Salton.

When we look back to the state of Scotland about a century ago, and observe the extraordinary opinions entertained at that time even by men of the most enlightened understanding, with respect to fundamental principles of rural economy, we shall cease to wonder at the slow progress of agriculture, which not only found its usual obstacles in the natural indolence and prejudices of the peasantry, but in the erroneous ideas of the landholders with regard to their substantial interest.

In the period to which I allude, ANDREW FLETCHER of SALTON, a man of an ardent and virtuous mind, and of a truly patriotic spirit, has drawn a picture of the state of Scotland, which, if it did not find its evidence both in the historical records, and in the laws of the country, would at this day pass for the fiction of a diseased imagination. He speaks of a fifth part of the po-

pulation of Scotland as in the state of actual mendicants, begging alms from door to door, and of these a great proportion dying yearly from absolute want: of a hundred thousand gipsies, or vagabonds, living without regard to any laws human or divine, and seeking their subsistence by violence, rapine and murder; of one-half of the land-property of the kingdom, "possessed by a "people who are all gentlemen, *only be-* "*cause they will not work*;" and who in "every thing are more contemptible than "the vilest slaves, except that they al- "ways carry arms, because for the most "part they live upon robbery:" And after the mention of these known facts, and the assumption of a political principle founded in the truest wisdom, "That numbers of "people being great riches, every govern- "ment is to blame that makes not a right "use of them," he proceeds to propose the remedies for those diseases. Of the first method of cure, which is nothing less than the introduction of *Slavery*, under the sole restriction, that the master shall have no

His projected reforms.

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power to put to death, mutilate or torture his slaves, I forbear to enter into any discussion: it is enough to say, that it affords a striking picture of the actual condition of a people, when such a change could be proposed as a remedy of evils *.

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* It is but justice, however, to this most respectable man, to hear what he has to allege in vindication of this violent remedy. He begins with remarking, that the institution of slavery among the ancients was the best provision which their governments could make for the support of the lower classes of the people; as it secured to the most indigent the necessaries of life, compelled every man to be industrious, and thus prevented any persons, able to work, from being a burden on the community; while, at the same time, it enabled the State to execute at a small expence the most useful works for the public benefit, as high-ways, aqueducts, common sewers, bridges, harbours, and market-places. He next details the notorious fact of the very great number of mendicants, vagrants, and thieves, who constitute so large a share of the population of Scotland, and whom nothing but force will compel to labour; and he concludes with proposing as a remedy for so an enormous an evil, "That every man of a "certain estate in this nation, should be obliged to take a "proportionable number of those vagabonds, and either em-"ploy them in hedging and ditching his grounds, or any "other sort of work in town and country; or, if they hap-"pen to be children and young, that he should educate them "in the knowledge of some mechanical art, that so every man

The second reform recommended by the patriotic Fletcher, is more pertinent to the

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" of estate might have a little manufacture at home, which " might maintain those servants, and bring great profit to " the master; as they did to the ancients, whose revenue, " by the manufactures of such servants, was much more con- " siderable than that of their lands. Hospitals and alms- " houses ought to be provided for the sick, lame and decrepit, " either by rectifying old foundations, or instituting new. " And, for example and terror, three or four hundred of the " most notorious of those villains, which we call *Jockies*, " might be presented by the Government to the State of " Venice, to serve in their galleys against the common enemy " of Christendom.

" But these things, when once resolved, must be executed " with great address, diligence and severity; for that sort of " people is so desperately wicked, such enemies of all work " and labour, and, which is yet more amazing, so proud, in " esteeming their own condition above that which they will " be sure to call slavery, that, unless prevented by the ut- " most industry and diligence, upon the first publication of " any orders necessary for putting in execution such a de- " sign, they will rather die with hunger in caves and dens, " and murder their young children, than appear abroad, to " have them and themselves taken into such a kind of ser- " vice. And the Highlands are such a vast and unsearch- " able retreat for them, that, if strict and severe order be not " taken to prevent it, upon such an occasion these vagabonds

BOOK IV. present object of consideration; as it affords an useful lesson of caution in regard

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" will only rob as much food as they can out of the low-
" country, and retire to live upon it in those mountains, or
" run into England, till they think the storm of our resolu-
" tion is over, which in all former times they have seen to
" be vain."

Of the state of the Highlands he remarks: " This part of
" the country being an inexhaustible source of beggars, has
" always broke all our measures relating to them. And it
" were to be wished, that the Government would think fit to
" transplant that handful of people, and their masters, (who
" have always disturbed our peace), into the low-country,
" and people the Highlands from hence, rather than they
" should continue to be a perpetual occasion of mischief to
" us. It is in vain to say, that whatever people are planted
" in those mountains, they will quickly turn as savage, and
" as great beggars, as the present inhabitants; for the moun-
" tains of the Alps are greater, more desert, and more con-
" demned to snows, than those of the Highlands of Scotland,
" which are every where cut by friths and lakes, the richest
" in fishing of any in the world, affording great conveniences
" for transportation of timber and any other goods; and yet
" the Alps, which have no such advantages, are inhabited
" every where by a civilized, industrious, honest, and peace-
" able people: but they had no lords to hinder them from
" being civilized, to discourage industry, and encourage
" thieving, and to keep them beggars, that they might be the
" more dependant; or when they had any that oppressed

to the admission of general principles in political economy. It was his idea, that the

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" them, as in that part of the mountains that belonged to the " Swiss, they knocked them on the head.

" Let us now compare the condition of our present vaga- " bonds with that of servants under the conditions which I " have proposed, and we shall see the one living under no " law of God, man, or nature, polluted with all manner of " abominations, and though so little in expectation of the " good things of another life, yet in the worst condition of " this, and sometimes starved to death in time of extraor- " nary want. The other, though sometimes they may fall " under a severe master, (who nevertheless may neither kill, " mutilate, nor torture them), are always sure to have food, " clothes, and lodging; and have this advantage above other " men, that, without any care or pains taken by them, these " necessaries are likewise secured to their wives and chil- " dren. They are provided for in sickness, their children " are educated, and all of them, under all the inducements, " encouragements and obligations possible, to live quiet, in- " nocent and virtuous lives. They may also hope, if they " shew an extraordinary affection, care and fidelity, in the " service of their master, that not only they and their fami- " lies shall have entire freedom, but a competency to live, " and perhaps the estate of the master entrusted to their " care. Now, if we will consider the advantages to the na- " tion by the one, and the disadvantages arising from the " other sort of men, we shall evidently see, that as the one

BOOK IV. principal cause of the poverty and misery of the people of Scotland was, the high rent

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" is an excessive burden, curse and reproach to us, so the " other may enrich the nation, and adorn this country with " public works beyond any in Europe, which shall not take " the like methods of providing for their poor."—*Political Works of* ANDREW FLETCHER *of Salton. II. Disc. on the Affairs of Scotland.*

It may perhaps afford some consolation to the feelings of a Scotsman, mortified by this picture of the barbarism of his country, to find some remarkable features of resemblance in the state of our sister-kingdom, at a period not extremely remote. One would be almost tempted to believe, that Fletcher, in the foregoing account, had borrowed his colouring from Sir Thomas More's description of a great proportion of the lower gentry in England in the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII.; so striking is the coincidence of the painting. " Omittamus eos qui sæpe vel ab externis bellis vel civilibus, " mutili redeunt domum ..... ea contemplemur quæ nullo die " non accidunt: Tantus est ergo nobilium numerus, qui non " ipsi modò degant otiosi, tanquam fuci laboribus aliorum, " quos, puta suorum prædiorum est mos, augendis reditibus " ad vivum usque radunt (nam eam solam frugalitatem no- " vêre homines alioquin ad mendicitatem usque prodigi) ve- " rum immensam quoque otiosorum stipatorum turbam cir- " cumferunt, qui nullam unquam quærendi victus artem di- " dicere. Hi simul atque herus obierit, aut ipsi ægrotave- " rint, ejiciuntur illicò; nam et otiosos libentiùs quàm ægro- " tos alunt, et sæpe morientis hæres non protinus alendæ

of lands; "the letting our farms at so ex-
"cessive a rate, as makes the tenant poorer
"even than his servants, whose wages he
"cannot pay, and involves in the same
"misery day-labourers, tradesmen, and the
"lesser merchants, who live in the country
"villages and towns; and thereby influ-
"ences no less the great towns and whole-
"sale merchants, makes the master have a
"troublesome and ill-paid rent; his lands
"not improved by inclosure or otherwise,

"sufficit paternæ familiæ: interim illi esuriunt strenuè, nisi
"strenuè latrocinentur: nam quid faciant? Siquidem ubi
"errando paullulum vestes ac valetudinem attrivere, morbo
"jam squalidos, atque obsitos pannis, neque generosi dig-
"nantur accipere, neque audent rustici; non ignari eum qui
"molliter educatus in otio ac deliciis, solitus sit, accinctus
"acinace ac cetra, totam viciniam vultu nebulonico despicere,
"et contemnere omnes præ se, haudquaquam idoneum fore,
"qui cum ligone ac marra, maligna mercede ac victu parco,
"fideliter, inserviat pauperi .... atqui, nobis, inquis, hoc ho-
"minum genus in primis fovendum est: in his enim utpote
"hominibus animi magis eccelsi ac generosioris, quàm sunt
"opifices aut agricolæ, consistunt vires ac robur exercitûs,
"siquando sit confligendum bello: profecto inquam ego, ea-
"dem operâ dicas licet, belli gratiâ fovendos esse fures, qui-
"bus haud dubiè nunquam carebitis, dum habebitis hos."—
T. More, *Utopia, lib.* i.

BOOK IV. "but, for want of horses and oxen fit for "labour, every where run out and abused." And, as no direct remedy could be easily applied to the correction of this supposed abuse, he proposed, in the first place, to prohibit by law the taking of any interest for money; which would oblige the rich to employ their wealth either in agricultural improvements, or in commerce and manufactures; and, secondly, he recommended some chimerical regulations, to the effect of gradually abolishing the leasing of farms, equalizing land-property, and making every man the actual cultivator of his own estate.

Obstacles to the improvement of Agriculture.

Experience has at length evinced the fundamental error of all these speculations, and demonstrated, that the poverty of Scotland was to be remedied, and the indolence of the lower classes of the people corrected, by means directly the reverse of those which this political writer has proposed: But this experience was very slow in its operation, as every change found obstacles both in the habits of the people, and in some respects even in the condition and tenure of landed

property. A very great proportion of the lands in Scotland being fit only for the purposes of pasture, was possessed in common by the vassals and tenants of many adjoining proprietors; while, at the same time, the arable lands, even in the best parts of the country, were occupied by a number of small tenants, who, instead of cultivating separate farms, divided either by fences or known land-marks, shared the ground among them by alternate ridges; a practice incompatible with good agriculture, and which rendered it impossible to improve the land by planting and inclosing *. It is

* In a very judicious treatise, entitled, *The Interest of Scotland considered, with regard to its Police, Agriculture, Trade, Manufactures and Fisheries*, written by Provost Patrick Lindsay of Edinburgh, and published in the year 1733, the wretched policy in the management of great estates which at that time prevailed, is thus strongly painted, and the causes which led to it assigned.

"In old lordships and great baronies, most of the farmers "live in what is called the *Barony-town*; the arable lands "are divided by run-rig, equally amongst them; and the "outlying grounds are possessed by them all in common, for

BOOK IV. true, that in 1695, the Legislature provided a remedy for these evils, by two separate statutes, the one authorising the division of commons, and the other that of *run-ridge* lands, at the suit of any proprietor having an inte-

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" pasture and casting of *feal*, (*i. e.* cutting the greensward for " turf to cover their houses, or for burning,) a most perni- " cious practice. When this disposition of estates was made, " the manners of the times made it necessary: the Crown " wanted either power or inclination to keep the public peace, " and to preserve the persons and properties of the subjects " from the violence and outrage of one another. An injury " done to one family was repaired by the return of a like act " of violence upon the aggressor: thus, two families, once " at variance, continued in feud and enmity, and a state of " war. The lord of the barony lived in a castle or tower of " war; and unless he was surprised abroad in the day-time, " his person was safe, and he might sleep sound at night: " but their lands were liable to the constant plunder and de- " predations of one another. When an inroad happened, " every one upon the ground was bound by his interest, as " well as his duty, to turn out with his arms to rescue the " prey; for, as their corn and cattle were all, by this dispo- " sition, mixed, every one probably had a share in it. But " these unhappy days are now long since passed; the peace " of the country, and the properties of its inhabitants, are " now secured by law. The effect should therefore cease " with the cause. These baronies may *now* be much impro- " ved, by dividing them into so many farms, each of a pro- " per extent."

rest in such division: but in the latter case, the remedy was partial and imperfect; for it neither extended to the lands belonging to boroughs and corporations, nor had it any effect in correcting the established custom of run-ridge possessions among the tenants of the same estate. It was only the operation of wiser and better notions of agriculture, gradually taking place from the increasing tranquillity of the country, and the consequent decay of the ancient feudal habits, that at length abolished those hurtful usages.

Earliest attempts towards its advancement.

The inclosing of waste lands for pasture was first practised in the district of Galloway, (Kirkcudbright-shire), about the year 1720, by the great cattle-dealers, who bought and pastured live stock, which they drove to the English market. The continual intercourse of these dealers with England, made them acquainted with various modes of husbandry, which they successfully introduced at home on the land-estates which their wealth enabled them to purchase. The example was imitated by a few spirited and

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opulent landholders in different parts of the country. Among these, the Earl of Haddington, and John Cockburn of Ormiston in East-Lothian; Mr Hope of Rankeilor in Fife; the Earls of Stair and Eglintoun in Ayrshire; Mr Craik of Arbigland in Kirkcudbrightshire; and the last Duke of Perth in Stratherne, deserve to be particularly mentioned, as zealous and successful promoters of the English husbandry upon their estates. These noblemen and gentlemen formed, in 1723, the plan of a *Society for the Encouragement of Agriculture*, which, in a short time, comprehended three hundred of the principal landholders in Scotland; and this institution, subsisting in vigour for above twenty years, diffused the spirit of improvement over a considerable part of the kingdom *.

* "Infinite was the good," (says a judicious writer on Agriculture), "which this Society did to their country; par-
"ticularly by receiving memorials, and answering queries,
"concerning husbandry and manufactures; by their propo-
"sals relative to the public funds, drawn up by a Committee
"of their number; by their application to the Royal Bo-
"roughs for their concurrence; by their joint application to

CHAP. I.

Effects of the Rebellion in 1745.

The Rebellion in 1745 brought a great recompence for the temporary evils that attended it, in the many valuable improvements to which it gave rise in Scotland. Among these, the opening of the country by highways, the first step to all advancement in agriculture, and the primary engine of civilization; the suppression of the heritable jurisdictions*; the abolition of the personal services of the peasantry, which

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" Parliament; by the acts in consequence of that applica-
" tion; and by the King's patent following thereon, naming
" Trustees for the Fisheries and Manufactures, almost all
" chosen out of this Society. Before this Society commen-
" ced, we seemed to have been several centuries behind our
" neighbours of England; now I hope we are within less
" than one of what they are, with regard to either husbandry
" or manufactures." — MAXWELL'S *Practical Husbandman*, Edin. 1757, p. 382.

* The sum of L. 152,000 Sterling was ascertained to be an adequate compensation to the heritable proprietors of those jurisdictions; and while this sum added so much to the circulating capital of the country, the administration of justice, hitherto subservient too frequently to iniquitous and tyrannous oppression, was most materially improved by the appointment of Sheriffs-depute, men educated to the law, and nominated to those offices by the Sovereign.

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kept them in the most abject dependance, and repressed all ingenuous exertions to improve their condition, were great and permanent benefits. Nor is it to be denied, that, in a few instances, even the forfeiture of many of the great estates, and their temporary annexation to the Crown, while it tended more effectually than any other means that could be employed to break the feudal bondage, was the immediate introduction to a better system of husbandry, and the cause of many material improvements in the state of the country.

Plan of Commissioners for the Annexed Estates.

These forfeited estates, which were now under the management of a Board of Commissioners specially appointed for that purpose *, consisted of large tracts of land, many parts of which were capable of the highest culture; and they contained a strong, a hardy, and a sagacious race of men, whose powers it seemed only necessary to call forth, and direct to those means of improvement

* See *suprà*, vol. i. p. 282.

which nature herself put within their power, and of which their ancient habits and situation, and in part their own prejudices, had hitherto prevented the employment.

Wight's agricultural surveys.

The duty which Lord Kames had to discharge as one of the Members of this Board, of which for many years he took the most active direction, naturally suggested to his mind the consideration of various plans for the improvement of those extensive domains, of which they had the charge for the public benefit. The preparatory step was to obtain a correct and particular account of the actual situation of those estates; the soils of the different farms; the modes of cultivation employed; the crops commonly raised; the manures used, and those which the soil could furnish, and nature most easily supply; the prices of labour and provisions; and, in general, to collect every degree of information which might tend to suggest the best improvements of which the land was capable. A person of intelligence and activity, and of known agricultural skill,

BOOK IV.

Mr Andrew Wight of Ormiston, was proposed by Lord Kames, and nominated by the Board, to proceed, under a set of instructions, drawn up by his Lordship, and make a survey of this nature. Mr Wight's Reports, which were made in the years 1773 and 1774, were so satisfactory, that the Commissioners not only adopted from them a variety of judicious regulations for the management of the estates under their care, and carried into effect the most beneficial improvements of the lands; but, in the view of extending those advantages to the nation at large, they employed the same person to prosecute his surveys, and to furnish similar reports of the actual state of agriculture in every quarter of Scotland. The result was, a great body of useful information, which was given to the public, in six volumes, printed at different intervals, from the year 1778 to 1784; and which may justly be said to have powerfully excited the spirit of improvement, which, from that time, has been progressive, and in these latter years most rapidly so, in every department of agriculture and rural economy.

CHAP. I.

Plan of a Board of Agriculture.

A favourite idea of Lord Kames was, the establishment of a *Board of Agriculture* in Scotland. His plan was, that the Board should consist of nine members, all men of ability and skill in rural affairs, and of known patriotism, to whom the honour of promoting their country's good, would be a sufficient reward of their labours. He proposed that a Secretary should be appointed for the official business, with an adequate salary; and that the Board should hold its meetings monthly. He digested a regular plan of the business of this Board *, which should comprehend every thing that regarded the improvement of the agriculture of Scotland; involving an accurate information of the present modes and practices, the correction of errors, the introduction of ascertained improvements, the direction of rational experiments, and the excitement of industry by premiums and bounties. The plan, though from various obstacles, not

* See the plan of this Board in the Appendix to the *Gentleman Farmer*, p. 367.

BOOK IV. adopted in his own lifetime, has been since that time realized in effect by two separate institutions; that of the *Highland Society*, which, notwithstanding the limitation which its name implies, embraces every thing that regards the general agriculture and husbandry of Scotland, and the *British Board of Agriculture*, which we owe to the active zeal and patriotism of Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster *.

The *Gentleman Farmer.*

But Lord Kames was not satisfied with exciting the activity and employing the talents of others in those plans of general utility to his country. He resolved to contribute the fruits of his own speculations and practice in agriculture,—a subject to which he had begun very early in life to turn his attention, and which had always

* To this gentleman, whose zeal in the promotion of various schemes of national improvement, and whose writings on the subjects of Finance, Agriculture, Manufactures, &c. entitle him to the gratitude of his country, we owe that comprehensive and useful work, *The Statistical Account of Scotland, compiled from the Reports of the Ministers of the several Parishes*, in 21 volumes 8vo.

been with him a favourite occupation. Availing himself of the labours of such of the agricultural writers as have founded their opinions on scientific principles; profiting by the ideas of his philosophical friends, whom he engaged in an epistolary correspondence on those particular branches of the subject on which he most wanted information *; and combining their notions with the result of his own researches and actual experience, he at length, in 1776, when in the eightieth year of his age, published his *Gentleman Farmer, being an attempt to improve agriculture by subjecting it to the test of rational principles.* This work is a singular specimen of the powers of a vigorous mind, which, even at that advanced age, when the weakness of nature usually gives of itself a respite from all laborious exer-

* How earnestly he courted every degree of information on the subject which then engaged him, and with what truly philosophical views his inquiries were directed, will appear from some of those letters which the reader will find at No. II. of the Appendix to the second Volume.

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tions, could prosecute its employments with undiminished energy. Of the work itself, it is the best eulogium to say, that, in a science which of late years has been continually advancing, though yet far short of perfection, the *Gentleman Farmer* is the most useful book of its kind which had appeared at the time of its publication.

Character of that work.

From a desire of forming a just estimate of this work, of which a very imperfect knowledge of the subject rendered me an incompetent judge, I applied to a learned and ingenious Friend, who, in the same official station with Lord Kames, joins to a variety of attainments, literary and philosophical, a remarkable knowledge of agriculture, in which he has distinguished himself by some improvements, founded on scientific principles, and of much practical utility. The observations with which he has favoured me, are too valuable to suffer any abridgment in point of matter, and I shall make no other alteration on them than a few slight changes of expression.

"None of Lord Kames's works is more characteristic of his genius and disposition, in all their principal features, than the *Gentleman Farmer*. In the Author's younger days, the rude, or rather barbarous state of agriculture in Scotland, had powerfully struck his mind, always animated with zealous patriotism, and never blinded by authority or custom. He had accordingly, at an early period of life, commenced an improving farmer on his own estate; but his professional labours as a Lawyer and Judge, and the variety of his pursuits in Morals, Metaphysics, and the Belles Lettres, as well as his researches on the subjects of Law and Antiquities, precluded the possibility of his devoting that time and attention to practical agriculture, which was necessary, either to form a sound system from his own observation and experience, or to prosecute the necessary relative researches in the sciences of Natural History, Mechanics and Chemistry, even as then understood; although his philosophic mind, by a natural instinct, constantly recurred to them, as the

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great sources from which the improvements of agriculture were to be suggested, and its ultimate attainments to be derived.

" Gleaning, however, as much as he could of the recent discoveries and improvements in those sciences, and relying on the facts acquired from his own observation and experience, as well as from general reading, and the conversation of men of enlightened mind, with whom he associated; and trusting to the powers of his own understanding in meditating on what had occurred to him in the course of a long life, he, in the 80th year of his age, gave to the public his ideas on Husbandry in all its branches. In a work thus produced, much correctness, much scientific induction, or much of novelty to persons of information, was not to be expected. Nor was it to be hoped, that it should even be free from errors, arising from wrong information, and failure of memory, or altogether exempt from that defect of which the greatest of the Author's admirers must be sensible,—a propensity to be too easily satisfied with an ingenious

thought, or captivated by a plausible hypothesis. But after every allowance of this kind, the work is extremely valuable. It exhibits every where the most enlarged views of the subjects of which he treats: if not always successful in pointing out the true causes of appearances, it generally directs to the quarter from whence they are to be sought; if it fails in prescribing universally the best rules of practice, it exposes many that are improper and pernicious: and while it abounds in valuable suggestions, and ingenious thoughts on every branch of husbandry, it seizes all opportunities of rousing the activity of the husbandman, of animating his patriotism, and strengthening his conviction of the wisdom and benevolence of the Great Author of Nature. The work, in short, is fully adequate to the state of knowledge of the subject, even among the best-informed agriculturists, at the period when it appeared; and it had a remarkable influence in diffusing that knowledge, and in prompting to new experiments and improvements throughout the nation; thus exciting a spirit of enter-

BOOK IV. prize in agricultural pursuits, which, notwithstanding wars, and taxes without example, enables it to pervade the country with an increasing rapidity, and promises to bring husbandry to a state of perfection hitherto unknown, and even unexpected.

" Of a work of this kind, it would be improper here to enter into any examination in detail, which, from the nature of the subject, would either resolve into a large treatise, or prove nearly useless or invidious. Indeed, nothing could be more unfair than to write an ample review in 1806, of a work in Agriculture published in 1776. Dr Black's discoveries in chemistry had then only begun to produce that school of experimental philosophers, who have since carried the science to an extraordinary height, in union with its kindred departments of natural history; and the accumulation of practical observations on agriculture, which Lord Kames himself was the first to promote in Scotland, had then only commenced. In such circumstances, little could be quoted from his work which would not admit of correction,

by being restricted, modified or enlarged; and the Reviewer would assume a superiority over his Author, which time alone, and the natural progress of science, had occasioned. It may, however, be asserted with some confidence, that, were a proficient in husbandry, with all the advantages of recent discoveries, to begin now to compose a popular work on that subject, he could hardly follow a wiser or more beneficial plan, than to write over again, chapter by chapter, Lord Kames's *Gentleman Farmer*, making those corrections, and adding those improvements, which the progress of natural science in the last generation has furnished. In this way, his work would comprehend almost every thing useful or desirable for the farmer to learn; while at the same time, the advancement of the art would be distinctly marked, and many valuable hints and views brought forward with new advantages, that, in a work, in some degree obsolete, run a risk of being altogether overlooked and lost; for men of science do not always submit to be men of curious research; and there are few, who,

BOOK IV. with a view to practical information, will now peruse a treatise on Agriculture composed thirty years ago.

"Hence, though the mistakes and errors in such works as the *Gentleman Farmer* are now nearly harmless, and consequently there is no strong call on any person to point them out, there is a considerable risk, that many hints which it contains of great importance, may be altogether forgotten and lost: more especially, where such hints, as often happens where they drop from authors of superior ingenuity, are better calculated for a more advanced state of the art than that of the period when they flourished. Thus, Lord Kames's suggestion to attempt artificially to form a soil of perpetual or indefinite fertility, in imitation of some soils found in nature, does not appear to have been followed with any trials by actual experiment; though the very attempt, as he justly observes, could not fail to afford valuable information. But the state of chemical knowledge in his time, and for some years after, was too imperfect to promise

much benefit from such an attempt; whereas, the great improvement in the chemical analysis in late years, seems now to point out the pursuit as rational, and a successful course of experiments to that end to be within the reach of our powers.

Observations concerning Planting

"While, for the reasons above mentioned, it would evidently be improper to enter into any detailed criticism on Lord Kames's *Gentleman Farmer*, it may be remarked, that every intelligent reader will feel a sensible pleasure in the reflection, that the benevolent wishes and the patriotic views of the Author have, in many respects, met with their full accomplishment in the great improvement which the science of agriculture has of late years undergone. It is true, that this pleasure suffers some allay from observing the neglect with which some of his most salutary advices have been treated. Of these one remarkable instance occurs to be mentioned. It must be acknowledged, that Lord Kames's advices concerning the *Planting of Trees*, are among those least entitled to estimation; and, in particular, the

directions he gives for stirring the soil, and weeding or thinning their numbers twice in the year; and for cutting off the under branches of firs and larches, till the trees are as far distant from each other as they are high: directions which, in many cases, would be absolutely pernicious; and the first of which, the stirring the earth about the roots, seems to be inconsistent with another of his advices, which has more reason in it, namely, that the forester should go over his young plantations after every high wind, and tread firmly around the roots wherever the trees appear to be loosened, in order to sustain them in their upright position. But among his remarks on this subject, there is one of a very important nature, and which is extremely deserving of attention. In viewing the *natural forests* of fir in the Highlands of Scotland, where the timber is equal to that of the best foreign growth, we observe that those forests consist of trees of all different ages; the seeds being sown each successive year by the birds and winds; so that, however thick they rise on the surface, there is always a deci-

ded superiority in some of the trees above the rest. By this means, though the younger afford shelter to the older trees, they always give way to them, and hence, instead of being of prejudice to their growth, they favour it very greatly, by rubbing off their under branches, and protecting their stems from the cold, which would otherwise contract the bark, and check the rise of the sap: at the same time, the loss of their under branches affords the more nourishment to their lofty heads, which spread with great luxuriance. On the other hand, in extensive *plantations* of firs, the trees being all of the same age, and rising together, they interfere with each other in their growth; there is a general struggle for superiority for many years; and even the hardier plants, which come at last to overpower the weaker, suffer much by the contest, and exhibit to the last its effects in their long, naked, spindle form, small heads and trunks of inconsiderable dimensions. Such is the consequence of planting a whole field at the same time, instead of imitating the process of nature, by stocking it in a succession of

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years. But even where this erroneous mode of planting has been followed, a remedy to a certain extent might be obtained, by keeping the outskirts of large plantations moderately thin; so that the trees, retaining their under branches, would form a fence to exclude the cold winds from penetrating into the innermost parts of the plantation, contracting the bark of the trees, and thus stunting their growth. If, in addition to this precaution, some care were taken in cutting off the tops of the less promising trees, so as to favour the spreading of the heads in the more luxuriant, there seems little reason to doubt, that our *planted* fir-woods might in time afford timber of equal size and goodness with the *natural* forests *."

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* "If we observe how trees thrive on a declivity †, and still more in a valley, though in a poor soil, and at a considerable height above the sea, we shall soon discover the im-

† See another reason assigned for the thriving of trees upon a declivity, in a Letter from Professor John Walker to Lord Kames, dated 18th February 1773, Appendix to Vol. II. No. III. Letter I. *in fine*.

Thus far my ingenious friend; and to his remarks on the subject of Lord Kames's *Gentleman Farmer*, I shall only add, that at a period when agriculture in Scotland was in its infancy, or but just beginning to be regarded as a science resting on rational principles, its Author had the merit of ex-

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portance of the three following advices; (1.) To exclude the winds from ranging without interruption among the naked stems of trees; (2.) To afford advantages to the strongest plants in overtopping the weaker; and (3.) To plant sufficiently thick to darken the ground, which urges the trees to tend upwards, diminishes their lateral branches, and thus promotes both the height and volume of the stem. The latter advice, however, must be cautiously followed, lest the air and light be excluded to a pernicious excess.——In those neglected plantations where daylight may be seen for miles through naked stems, chilled and contracted with the cold, the mischief might perhaps be partially remedied, by planting young trees round the extremities, which, having room to spread luxuriantly, would exclude the winds; and the internal spaces might be thickened up with oaks, silver-firs, beeches, and such other trees as thrive with a small portion of light. When once the wind is excluded, the weakest of the old trees might be taken out, and the others left to profit by the shelter and space that is afforded."

BOOK IV. plaining those principles, so far as then known, with clearness and precision, and of pointing out their application to the practices of husbandry, which in most instances he could recommend from his own experience, or what he had learned of the experience of others. A work of this nature from a person of his station, public character, and eminent talents, was calculated to give importance and dignity to those pursuits and employments which are generally rated far below their value *. He had the merit, too, of furnishing in his own person a most useful example to the country gentlemen of Scotland, fitted to arouse them from that state of torpor in which too many of them pass their lives, and to awaken a generous emulation to distinguish themselves in those manly and ingenuous occupations,

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* *Omnium autem rerum, ex quibus aliquid acquiritur, nihil est agriculturâ melius, nihil uberius, nihil dulcius, nihil homine, nihil libero dignius.* —Cic *De Offic* ii. 42. See likewise the whole of that fine panegyric on agriculture, which the same author makes in the person of the elder Cato.—*Ibid. De Senectute,* cap. 15, 16.

which tend equally to the public benefit, and the increase of their own comforts and enjoyments.

Letters from Sir John Pringle to Lord Kames.

Lord Kames dedicated his *Gentleman Farmer* to Sir JOHN PRINGLE, then President of the Royal Society, at once desirous of paying a compliment to an old and valued friend, and ambitious, as he acknowledges, of obtaining the patronage of that respectable Body to his labours. He received from Sir John Pringle the two following letters, of the same date:

Sir JOHN PRINGLE *to Lord* KAMES.

"*London, January* 24. 1777.

"MY LORD,

"Having yesterday presented to the Royal Society your late publication, entitled, *The Gentleman Farmer*, and represented to them, that if your Lordship has been pleased to prefix my name to the dedication, it

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was on account of the honour I had of sitting in the Chair; for that the address was virtually to the Society at large: In consequence of this declaration, they desired me to return their most hearty thanks to your Lordship for your valuable present, and for the compliment you make them in requesting their patronage on the occasion. But the Society, my Lord, are persuaded, from your Lordship's genius displayed in your other productions; and from your long experience, enlightened by the principles of natural knowledge, so often defective or misapplied in works of this nature, that this Treatise of Husbandry will require no other recommendation to the public, than their knowing that your Lordship is the author of it.

"By the authority, and in the name of the Royal Society of London, I am, my Lord, your Lordship's most affectionate friend, and obedient servant,

JOHN PRINGLE, P. R. S."

" *London, January* 24. 1777.

" My Lord,

" Having written the letter which accompanies this, in the name of the Society, give me leave to return your Lordship, in my private capacity, my warmest acknowledgments for the honour you have done me in so public a manner, of calling me your *Friend*, in the dedication of your *Gentleman Farmer*. Hitherto unworthy of so flattering an appellation, it shall ever be my study to deserve it.

" The book ought to have been presented to the Society a week sooner, but an accident prevented my zeal. It was delivered to me by Mr Smith. Taking it for granted, that there was another copy intended for the Society, but not yet arrived, I gave them mine, though you had written my name upon it, designing to replace it in my study by another copy, which I shall

BOOK IV. demand from Mr Caddell, your bookseller. If you choose it, I shall call for a second, to lay, in your name, at His Majesty's feet;—a step your Lordship may with propriety take, considering the subject, your rank, and character as a writer. If agreeable to you, your Lordship may send orders to Mr Caddell to have a copy bound in the King's taste, for that purpose. This is an office (I mean presenting the book) I could do, without the formality of applying to the Lord Chamberlain, or the Lord of the Bed-Chamber in waiting.

"Before I carried the copy you sent me to the Society, I had read a good deal of it, and was much pleased with the easy and natural manner in which you convey instruction. When I get another copy, I shall finish the whole; as I esteem it a clear and philosophical account of that most interesting part of natural knowledge.

"In a short time will be delivered to your Lordship, a copy of another Society discourse of mine, under the title of *A Dis-*

course on some of the late Improvements of the Means for preserving the Health of Mariners. Your Lordship will imagine, that the Council of the Royal Society, who gave me the theme, had understood that your Lordship intended to upbraid us with being always soaring in the clouds, and dealing too much in abstruse speculations. Here you'll find us descend and vulgarise ourselves with a witness, by writing and hearing an encomium on *small-beer*, *sour claret*, and *soreins*.

"I most heartily wish your Lordship a continuation of health and spirits for the further instruction of the world, and the further joy of your friends; and I have the honour to be, my Lord, your Lordship's most obedient and obliged humble servant,

JOHN PRINGLE."

In a subsequent letter, at the distance of some months, Sir John Pringle thus writes:

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" I had the honour of presenting your book to the KING, which was most graciously received. HIS MAJESTY was pleased to order me to return you his Royal Thanks, and afterwards to speak most favourably of the subject, and of the Author. He was glad to hear that agriculture was making such a progress in Scotland, and that such gentlemen of condition and learning encouraged the study and practice by their own example.

" For some days past, I have been much entertained with Captain Cook's own account of his last voyage. It is written with much judgment and veracity, and will afford your Lordship most authentic and excellent materials for another volume of *Sketches on Man.* The work is quite genuine, no alterations having been made from the manuscript in his own handwriting, except with regard to language, and those chiefly grammatical.——I am, my Lord," &c.

CHAPTER II.

Indefatigable activity of Lord Kames's mind.—Letter from Mrs Montagu on that subject.—Elucidations on the Law of Scotland.—Select Decisions of the Court of Session.—Loose Hints on Education.—Former Writers on that subject; Locke, &c.—Rousseau's Emile.—Other systems of Education.—Lord Kames's views on that subject.—Religion a main object of attention.

CHAP. II.
Indefatigable activity of Lord Kames's mind.

At the advanced period of life to which Lord Kames had now attained, his constitution had suffered nothing from the attacks of old age. When now upwards of fourscore, there was no sensible decay of his mental powers, or, what is yet more extraordinary, of the flow of his animal spirits, which had all the gaiety and vivacity of his early years. Indefatigable in the pursuit of

BOOK IV. knowledge; ever looking forward to some new object of attainment; one literary task was no sooner accomplished than another was entered upon with equal ardour and unabated perseverance. It seems in fact, to be the natural consequence of a steady engagement in the pursuits of science or of literature, and is more particularly the result of the habit of composition, that the mind, once accustomed to a regular train of thought, and to the examination of a subject under all its different aspects and relations, cannot be satisfied with a desultory exercise of its powers; and feels not its wonted self-enjoyment, without a determinate object of study or investigation. Moreover, one literary labour is often the parent of another. In the course of investigating one particular subject, another is started, which invites to a separate discussion; and hints are treasured up for a future inquiry: like the prospect gained by the traveller of a new and beautiful country, which cannot be explored at the time, without deviating from the true course of his journey; but which he reserves as the object of an after

survey, and engages in it with alacrity at his first season of leisure. CHAP. II.

On this subject,—the pleasure arising from mental activity, Lord Kames had enlarged, in a letter to his friend Mrs Montagu, and in describing it as an irresistible appetite in his own constitution, had intimated some doubt of its being altogether praise-worthy, when indulged, like any other appetite, to excess. The following answer is strongly marked with that good sense and propriety of feeling which eminently distinguished the writer.

"*Sandleford near Newbury,*
"*August* 23.

"My dear Lord,

Letter from Mrs Montagu on that subject.

"There is a kind of sacred luxury in communication with a friend, which, like a sacrifice, should be tasted only in the sanctuary. In the profane and unclean world of common life, infested with low solicitudes and cares, one is unable and unwor-

BOOK IV. thy to enjoy this hallowed feast. Your letter found me in London, attending lawyers, and attended by architects, sculptors, bricklayers, painters, glaziers. Was it possible that in such a motly crowd I could either converse with a Friend, or reason with a Philosopher? Now that I am restored to a state of rational tranquillity, and in the bosom of silence, I have meditated on what you have written on the subject of Man's perpetual activity; and never can I think of that power and principle in his nature with greater respect and approbation, than while the writer's own character is before me. Most terms are capable of different meanings. Restless activity is generally taken in a bad sense: and if perpetual occupation has no other motive than a busy brain abhorrent of rest, it is a kind of St Vitus's dance of the mind. On the other hand, not to repose or tarry, while any good remains to be done, is highly commendable: And as no man has ever attained either to the utmost improvement of his own faculties, or done all the good which it was in his power to do to others; so he is blame-

able if he suffers himself to rest in any period of his being, while it is in his power to make further advances to those worthy ends of his existence.

"Your Lordship says, if man were merely a selfish being, he would always be at rest. It is most natural for you to think so, who make the good of others your great principle of action: But a selfish man who loved eating, would not be at rest till he obtained a good dinner.——Avarice, you say, is the least selfish of all the passions. The result of it to self, is certainly very bitter: but yet, as self-good is certainly its aim and object, all we can say is, that the avaricious man reasons extremely ill, and is guilty of egregious folly in employing means which can never answer his end. You observe very justly, that the pleasure of doing good never decays, but on the contrary strengthens by exercise. As we love those to whom we do good, we grow more affectionate to our fellow-creatures, in proportion to the extent of our benevolence. Therefore, my good Lord, keep on in your benevolent

course: feed the hungry in mind and body; instruct the ignorant; reprove the vagabond in life or study; teach the idly curious not to lose their time in prying into things undiscoverable by human reason; give the traveller, who by mistake has wandered out of his way, the plainest direction to keep the road of his duties: thus shall action ever be preferable to rest.

"Thus much in answer to the Philosopher: now let me address myself to the Friend. Where do you pass the remainder of the summer? I hope at Blair-Drummond. Where can the summer be more delightful, or the autumn more pleasing? In the winter, the distant mountains covered with snow would offer the sublime; but I do not think the sublime in good season in the cold months. Our bodily feelings then call for comfort and indulgence; the shivering limbs disturb the reverie; one feels that one is not pure spirit, nor can subsist on the phantasms of imagination:

Tow'red cities please us then,
And the busy hum of men:—

The *vegetable* world has forsaken us; and the *animal* is no longer pleasant company. At Edinburgh your Lordship will find the pleasures of conversation in their highest degree.

"My memory often presents to me the happy days we passed at Denton, and I never reflect upon them without tender gratitude to you and Mrs Drummond, for so kind, and so agreeable a visit. I passed six weeks this spring at the Bath, with great benefit to my health: from thence I came to this place; but have since been obliged to make two visits to London, on account of a large purchase I am making of an estate adjoining to Denton; and also to attend to the completing my new house in town, which will be an excellent habitation. The estate I am purchasing will likewise be a good acquisition: but alas! the present state of the country throws a cloud which obscures these brilliant possessions. Perhaps the same hand which delivers this into the post, will bring back an account that the French and Spaniards are landed. I do

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not fear the destruction of every thing from such an event; but I apprehend all the evils of confusion and dismay. I determine, however, to be myself as little confused or dismayed as I can, and to submit with resignation to whatever the Great Disposer of all things shall ordain. The invader and invaded are His, and by his goodness, omniscience, and omnipotence, he can, and will do what is best for both: human wisdom and power could be a friend only to one side.——With most affectionate esteem, I am, &c.

ELIZ. MONTAGU."

Elucidations on the Law of Scotland.

In considering, in a former part of these Memoirs, those Essays of Lord Kames's, which he entitled *Law-Tracts*, I took notice of the circumstances which gave origin to that work, as well as to another of the same nature, his *Elucidations on the Law of Scotland**. The latter publication may indeed be regarded as a sequel of the former; several topics, of which he had before treated,

* See *suprà*, vol. i. p. 299. and p. 317.

as he thought, too much in the general, being here resumed, and considered with greater amplitude; and the principles which he had laid down in that former work, and in his *Treatise on Equity*, applied to various other branches of the municipal law, which, in the course of his judicial function, and in the practice of the Court, had occurred to his consideration.

The *Elucidations respecting the Common and Statute Law of Scotland*, which he published in 1777, in one volume 8vo., comprehended forty two separate articles or heads of discussion; in which it is the Author's object, (as he informs us in his preface), to vindicate the municipal law of his country from the reproach it has incurred from the writings of our older jurists, whose works contain "a mass of naked propositions, drawn chiefly from the decisions of the Supreme Courts, and rarely connected either with premises or consequences; —decisions all delivered as of equal authority, though not always concordant."

BOOK IV. Spurning at this indolent and degrading bondage of the mind, the Author, in this work, as in all his former researches in the law, appears the advocate of rational principle and just argument, in opposition to anomalous practice and blind authority.

In the course of these disquisitions, the wonted ingenuity of the Author is conspicuous, in throwing new and striking lights on some of the most abstruse and intricate doctrines of the law of Scotland. Such are the doctrines of Assignable Obligations, of Personal and Transmissible Challenges of Right, of the Forms essential to Marriage, of the Active and Passive Representation of Heirs, of Special and General Services of Heirs, of the Effect of entering Heir *cum beneficio inventarii*, of Qualified Oaths, of Rules for the ranking of Creditors on a bankrupt Estate; and a variety of other branches of the law. Among the rest, the Author has new-modelled, and republished in this volume, the substance of the greater part of those disquisitions which he published in 1732, under the title of *Essays on se-*

veral Subjects of Law, viz. *Jus Tertii*, &c. The Essay *On Prescription*, enlarged and improved, makes a chapter in the present work: the Essay, entitled *Vinco vincentem*, is comprehended under the article of "Rules "for the ranking of Creditors;" and the discussions relative to the subject of *Jus Tertii*, form another head, entitled, "What "Interest is sufficient to entitle one to sue "or to defend." On topics of the nature of many that are here treated, which often give rise to the most difficult questions, and on which the ablest jurists have differed in opinion, it were vain to expect a complete resolution of doubts; or to suppose that the notions of any individual lawyer, however acute or profound, should afford a general conviction of soundness of decision. The Author himself was far from indulging so presumptuous a hope. His aim, as he modestly declares, went no higher than to rouse the spirit of inquiry on rational principles; sensible of his proneness to err, but trusting that a good effect might result even from the detection of his errors. The work, ac-

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cordingly, has found both its opponents and its advocates on many points of discussion; but none have been so unjust to its merits, as to deny it the praise of elaborate research, ingenious disquisition, and useful design. It is worthy of notice, too, that some of those doctrines of the Author which were the most controverted in his own time, particularly those relating to preferences among the creditors of a bankrupt, have of late years come to be universally adopted, and are sanctioned by the latest regulations in the statute-law regarding bankruptcies in Scotland.

The *Elucidations on the Law of Scotland* were dedicated by Lord Kames to his friend Mr DUNDAS, (the late Viscount MELVILLE), at that time Lord Advocate for Scotland, and Dean of the Faculty of Advocates. "I "can," says the Author, "address to you "this little work without a blush. As in "some instances it pretends to dissent from "established practice, I know few men, "young or old, who have your candour to "make truth welcome against their own

" prepossessions; and still fewer who have " your talents to make it triumph over the " prepossessions of others." A most just and merited encomium.

Select Decisions of the Court of Session.

Lord Kames, from the time of his promotion to the Bench in 1752, had made it his constant custom to note the particulars of every remarkable case which occurred in the practice of the Court of Session, with his own observations on the decision, and occasionally on the opinions of his brother Judges: a strong proof, that amidst the various pursuits which engaged his comprehensive mind, his professional duties had ever maintained their just rank and importance. These Reports amounting at length to a pretty numerous collection, he gave them to the public in 1780, in a folio volume, forming a supplement to that collection of the cases in which he had been engaged as a counsel, when at the Bar; and which he formerly published under the title of *Remarkable Decisions* *. The supplemen-

* See *suprà*, p. 94.

BOOK IV. tal volume is entitled, *Select Decisions of the Court of Session*; and it records the cases most worthy of notice, decided by that Court, in a period of seventeen years, between 1752 and 1768. This collection exhibits, like the former, a perspicuous statement of the fact and argument of each case; though betraying too, like the former, a bias not unnatural, to the Reporter's particular opinions, and the grounds of his own judgment on the case. The work indeed may be considered in some respects as a Review of the decisions of the Court, during the period to which it relates *. It contains

* The Author seems to consider it himself in that light, as appears by the notice to the reader at the end of the volume:

"*August* 1779.

"As it has been one of my chief objects in a long life, to "improve the law of my native country, I have, in this col- "lection, ventured my thoughts on particular decisions, for "illustration, or for correction. The extreme delicacy re- "quisite in criticising the decisions of a Supreme Court, I "am deeply sensible of; nor am I certain that a conscious- "ness of impartiality ought to justify me. But of one thing

two hundred and sixty-four Reports, in all of which the judgment serves to illustrate some important principle of the law. The collection was digested for publication, and printed, in the 84th year of the Author's age; but as its materials were all prepared while his powers of mind were in their full vigour, it forms a valuable addition to our common law-authorities, and to the records of the practice of the Supreme Court.

Loose Hints on Education.

The subject of *Education* had always been regarded by Lord Kames in a most impor-

"I am certain, that to have published this collection recently, with my animadversions, in the face, as it were, of my brother Judges, from whom I differed, would admit no justification. It would have had the insolent air of challenging them to a paper-war. I resolved, therefore, while any of those Judges were alive, that this collection should be kept private, and I gave orders accordingly. After waiting ten full years, I am now certain that my animadversions cannot be taken amiss by any person alive; and as I flatter myself that the work may be of some use to the public, I can discover no reason for denying myself the satisfaction of having it correctly published, under my own inspection."—*Sel. Decis.* p. 339.

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tant point of view, and it was [illegible] furnish the matter of that work [illegible] he closed his literary labours. [illegible] subject had formerly engaged his mind in no ordinary degree, appears from one of his earlier productions, of which I have before taken notice, *The Art of Thinking*. That small treatise was published in the year 1761. In the following year 1762, appeared a work upon education, which attracted in a remarkable manner the public attention, the *Emile* of JEAN JACQUES ROUSSEAU; and from that epoch we may date the prevailing passion of authors and readers, for the composition and perusal of Systems of Education, which seems characteristic of the present age.

Former writers on that subject; Locke, &c.

The parents and instructors of preceding times, who, in aid of their own judgment, wished to avail themselves of the lights furnished by superior talents and skill in the education of youth, had little else to resort to, than the *Treatise* of Mr LOCKE, published in the beginning of the last century, and a small Tract on Education, by Dr ISAAC

WATTS, with his larger work *on the Improvement of the Mind*, both published above sixty years ago *. Yet with all that the advancement of science, and the successive efforts of ingenuity, may be supposed to have contributed to the improvement of this art, it may fairly be questioned, whether any more useful or safer guides can yet be found than those early writers. The reason is, that they considered education, not in the light of an abstruse science, which required the aid of superior intellect to unfold its principles, or of deep penetration to discover its hidden truths; but as a practical art, of which the

* I mention not here the *Tractate on Education* by Milton; because, besides its extreme brevity, and its being limited altogether to general views, it is less of the nature of a preceptive work, from which a parent could derive instruction in the proper education of a child, than the recommendation of a certain order and course of study, to be prosecuted in a national institution, for the training of youth to the offices of public life.——From the antiquated treatise of Peacham, (*The Complete Gentleman*), some instruction may be gathered, and a considerable share of amusement: although a just taste must be perpetually offended by the quaintness and affectation, both of the style and sentiments.

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rules and precepts had no other f[redacted] than plain common sense, prud[redacted] discretion. Acute metaphysicia[redacted] Locke was, and deeply skilled in the analysis of the powers of the mind, we find not in his valuable Treatise, a trace of abstract reasoning, refinement of thought, or the smallest tendency to new or singular opinions. All is simple, perspicuous, and rational. It is undoubtedly a very pleasing consideration, that it has been shewn by ingenious writers, from a careful analysis of the mental powers, and an investigation into the principles of moral conduct, that the most rational system of education, such for example, as is prescribed by Locke, is agreeable to the true principles of human nature, and consonant to the soundest philosophy of the mind. But was this demonstration necessary; or, considering the capacities of those who most want instruction on the subject, is it of much practical utility*? Hard

* The latter question shall be answered by one of the ablest of those writers themselves, who have treated the subject of education according to philosophical principles. In

indeed were the lot of the generality of the human race, and precarious their chance of moral and intellectual improvement, if the rearing of infancy and youth, and the training of the faculties and powers to the proper ends of our being, were a deep and in-

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the excellent *Letters by Miss* ELIZABETH HAMILTON, *on the Elementary Principles of Education*, is the following passage, (vol. i. p. 13.): "The effects of *association* are daily experienced by all; but as the term made use of to explain these effects may not be familiar to every reader of my own sex, a few observations upon it may not be unacceptable. This was omitted in the former edition, from a confidence that the application of the term would sufficiently explain its meaning. But in this, I find, I have been mistaken. A Lady, whose powers of wit and judgment can be excelled by nothing but her own candour and benevolence, has convinced me of my error, by assuring me, that, however familiar the philosophical use of the term might be to a certain class of readers, to such as had never heard of any other *associations* than those of the *Loyal Volunteers*, it was to the last degree perplexing." If the ablest metaphysicians have with justice complained of the mistakes arising from the imperfection of language as an instrument of thought, and of the sophistical reasonings to which such imperfection has given rise, what hope is there, that to those of ordinary capacity we should convey clear ideas, while we address them in a language of which they do not know the first rudiments?

tricate science, of which only a [redacted] sophers had ascertained the just [redacted] or were fitted to prescribe the ru[redacted] rect the necessary practice. It may be boldly said, that no similarly deficient economy is observable in the plans of the Great Author of Nature.

I am aware, that in Mr Locke's *Thoughts on Education*, there are some opinions, on which men of equal judgment and good sense may entertain a difference of sentiment. Such, for example, is the preference he gives to a private over a public education; and this, seemingly, without distinction of the temper, dispositions, and talents of the child or pupil. But as the author details his reasons for this preference, and fairly places in contrast to them the arguments in favour of a public education, the reader is allowed the exercise of his own judgment; and his conclusion will probably be, that either plan may be the most expedient, according to the temper and talents of the pupil, or the principal end proposed in his education. The just inference to be

drawn from a difference of opinion in matters of this kind among men of the best understanding, is, that it is a folly to annex exclusive utility to any particular mode of tuition, or reprobate another as absolutely hurtful, unless it be altogether whimsical, and out of the common road. Good men and useful citizens, have been trained, not only both by the discipline of a public school, and by private tuition, but after a great variety of plans and methods of instruction. The only points of real consequence, are the good sense and the ability of the instructor; his capacity to discover the natural disposition and powers of his pupil, and to turn these to the best advantage: a single paragraph from the Treatise of Locke might furnish a text for many volumes: CHAP. II.

"He, therefore, that is about children, "should well study their natures and ap- "titudes, and see by often trials what turn "they easily take, and what becomes them; "observe what their native stock is, how it "may be improved, and what it is fit for:

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" He should consider what they [illegible]
" ther they be capable of having it [illegible]
" into them by industry, and in[illegible]
" there by practice; and whether it be
" worth while to endeavour it. For in
" many cases, all that we can do, or should
" aim at, is to make the best of what nature
" has given, to prevent the vices and faults
" to which such a constitution is most in-
" clined, and give it all the advantages of
" which it is capable. Every one's natural
" genius should be carried as far as it could;
" but to attempt the putting another upon
" him, will be but labour in vain."

Rousseau's *Emile.*

But that good sense which forms the sole basis of a system of education composed for the age of Locke, is a material of too common and too coarse a nature, for the fabric of those refined and subtile theories, which are fitted to engage the attention of an age, where the new, the striking, and the brilliant, are alone admired and sought after. *Rousseau*, in an evil hour, vented his paradoxes on education;—the man who sent his own children to the foundling-hospital,

and who failed, as he owns himself, in the only trial he made to educate the child of another. But he knew that a singularity of opinion was the sure road to distinction as an author; and he determined to frame a theory, which should in every thing be opposite to the common notions of mankind. *His* organs, as he tells us, were so formed, and his mind so constituted, as to render him incapable of thinking and judging like other people: "*Je ne vois point comme les* "*autres hommes; il y a longtems qu'on me* "*l'a reproché; mais depend-il de moi de me* "*donner d'autres yeux, et de m'affecter d'au-* "*tres idées* *?" And feeling and reasoning, as he acknowledges, like no other man, he has the modesty to presume, that he alone is right, and all the rest of the world in an error. The ordinary methods of education are all completely wrong: the very opposite course to the common, is almost always the right one: "*Prenez le contrepied* "*de l'usage, et vous ferez presque toujours*

* Préface d'*Emile*.

BOO IV. " *bien* *." Thus, because the in[illegible] " habit, one of the most powerful [illegible] of our nature, is universally res[illegible] the ordinary systems of education; this is sufficient reason with Rousseau for utterly exploding its application: " Habits ought " not to be impressed on children; for they " restrain the natural freedom of the mind: " *La seule habitude qu'on doit laisser prendre* " *à l'enfant, est de n'en contracter aucune* †." The enforcement of the parent's or the tutor's authority, and the obedience of the child, is generally supposed the most essential and primary step to be gained. " No," says Rousseau, " authority and obedience " are servile principles, fitted only to make " slaves and tyrants. Never cross your " pupil in any thing, and then you will be " sure to see him such as he is: When you " suffer children to act as they please, their " own mistakes will sufficiently correct " them: *Sans lui défendre de mal faire,* " *n'offrez jamais à ses volontés indiscrettes*

* *Emile,* tom. i. p. 130.

† *Ibid.* tom. i. p. 62.

" *que des obstacles physiques, ou des puni-*
" *tions qui naissent des actions mêmes, et*
" *qu' l se rapelle dans l'occasion* *."——It has been generally supposed, that the surest hold of the mind of a child is gained, by persuading him that your precepts are reasonable. " Never reason at all with a " child," says Rousseau; " he cannot un-" derstand you; if he were capable of rea-" soning, he would have no need of educa-" tion: By using argument, you only teach " him to be satisfied with words instead of " ideas, and make him disputatious and " self-sufficient: *C'est commencer par la fin.* " *Si les enfans entendoient raison, ils n'au-* " *roient pas besoin d'être élevés. C'est les* " *accoutumer à se payer de mots, à contrôler* " *tout ce qu'on leur dit, à se croire aussi* " *sages que leurs maîtres* †."——As our early impressions are the most lasting, it

* *Emile,* tom. i. p. 110.

† *Ibid.* tom. i. p. 120.

BOOK IV. has been usually thought of consequence to instil into the infant mind the first great principles of Religion: "What!" says Rousseau, "would you make your son the "creature of prejudice? Leave his mind "to its own operations; and when he is "capable of distinguishing between truth "and error, he will choose a religion for "himself. At fifteen, my pupil does not "know that he has a soul; and perhaps it "is early enough, if he gains that piece of "knowledge at eighteen *."——It might naturally be supposed, that the bare statement of such paradoxes were sufficient to expose their absurdity; if experience did not prove, that there is no doctrine too wild and extravagant for the caprices of the human intellect; and the opinions of Rousseau, defended with the most ingenious sophistry, and varnished by the most fascinating eloquence, have had an extensive and pernicious influence on vain and superficial minds.

* *Emile*, tom. ii. p. 215.

But to the public in general, Rousseau had shewn, that the subject of education admitted of much variety of sentiment; that it was a rich field for novelty and ingenuity of thought; and that with these recommendations, the importance of the object would insure attention to whatever was plausibly and ingeniously written in that department. New systems of education, controversial treatises in support and refutation of those systems, and books for the instruction of children, framed on all their opposite principles, now issued from the press in endless succession. The infant man seemed to be regarded as a subject of perpetual experiment, on which every daring empiric was at liberty to try the effect of his alterative processes, his stimulant, or his sedative medicines, as his fancy prompted. In some of these systems, the primary engine with the parent or preceptor, is Deceit. A child is to be cheated into every thing: he is to be wheedled into learning under the mask of play; into obedience under the appearance of following his own inclination;

BOOK IV. and by a variety of artful contrivances and well-laid plots, he is to be slily trepanned into virtue and good morals. According to an opposite theory, Nature is to be the sole guide, and the province of the parent or tutor is not to give impressions, but to guard against them. The child is to be left to feel his own wants, and to discover by his own ingenuity the means of supplying them: he is to make his own instruments, seek out his own amusements, follow the exercises in which he finds most pleasure, and extricate himself without assistance from all his difficulties. It is the doctrine of one theory of education, that children are to be guarded against all commerce with their inferiors, as carefully as from the contagion of the pestilence. With the servants of the family, those necessary evils, they are never to be suffered for one moment to hold conversation. It is an easy and natural extension of this doctrine, that they should be secluded from all society and acquaintance with other children of their own age and condition, from whose manners and habits these precious creatures can receive nothing but

contamination. It is one of the maxims of this theory, that the principal end of man's existence is to rear his successor; the parent is to devote his whole attention to that object. His house is to be constructed on a particular plan for the instruction of the child; it is to be turned topsy-turvy for his benefit; it is to become a workshop, a warehouse of implements, a laboratory, a museum, a theatre, an exhibition-room. All its ornaments, and even its furniture, are designed solely for his instruction. Little Master is the centre of this microcosm, the *anima mundi*. What a deal of pains and cost bestowed to puff up this little emmet with pride, vanity, and the sense of its own importance! What is he to think of himself, or how to estimate others, those especially of inferior condition, when he sees that even his parents are but the ministers to his instruction or his amusements, and seem to have no other task to fulfil in life?

The extravagant estimate of parental duty above alluded to, is not peculiar to one of

BOOK IV. the modern plans of education; it is, to a certain degree, common to the greater part of them; and it arises from the very systematic form in which the art is now treated. In every one of those plans to which I have alluded, education is regarded as a science depending on certain assumed theoretical principles, from which all its precepts are deduced, and by the standard of which all its conclusions are to be verified. It is a science, therefore, which must be carefully studied, and which, when acquired, demands a constant and unremitting attention to carry it into practice. A parent who follows out one of those theories in the education of his child, must devote to it the best part of his time for a course of years. It deserves to be well considered, whether such a parent, in the too anxious desire to fulfil one duty, may not neglect others of equal or superior importance; and whether the child be truly a gainer by those sacrifices which are made for his behoof, or substantially benefited by that overweening care and exclusive attention of which he perceives his little *self* to be the object.

The hurtful consequence of the variety of theories on the subject of education, and of its being very generally regarded as an abstruse and intricate science, is, that parents of ordinary abilities, who, possessing plain good sense, and just principles of morality, have thus from nature, and probably from the lights acquired by their own education, every requisite for the proper training and tuition of their offspring, are led to distrust their own capacity for the performance of a duty which they are now taught to consider as attended with the most formidable difficulties, and where every error may be followed by the most pernicious consequences. Thus alarmed, they are anxious to instruct themselves in this important science, and eagerly lay hold of every treatise and system that has been written upon the subject. The consequence is, they are either completely bewildered in a labyrinth of warring principles and contradictory opinions, and giving up all hope of effecting any thing by their own exertion, surrender their children, with implicit trust, to the tuition of others;

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or else they try the more dangerous alternative of attempting to carry into practice some of those crude and extravagant notions which they have gleaned from their desultory studies: For the mischief is, that all opinions on this subject lead to active consequences; every theory is capable of being reduced into practice; and unfortunately, the most extravagant opinions have the strongest influence on the weakest minds. To such it never occurs, that the very refinement which they admire affords of itself a suspicion of error; and that it rarely happens, that what is ingenious, novel, and out of the common road, is at the same time just and true. The latter characteristics are in general quite obvious, and within the sphere of an ordinary understanding. It is a great truth which cannot be too often inculcated; *Quicquid nos vel meliores vel beatiores facturum est, aut in aperto, aut in proximo posuit Natura* *.

* "Whatever is really necessary for man to know, either for the improvement of his moral nature, or the increase of his happiness, is, by the bounty of Providence, placed easily within the reach of his discovery."

Lord Kames's views on that subject.

Lord Kames had turned his thoughts to the subject of education as a branch of moral duty; and he would have regarded it as a breach of that duty, had he allowed weight to any other motive which prompted him to write on this subject, than the desire he had to be useful to his fellow-creatures. He therefore had no wish to extend his literary reputation, by this, the last of his works; no passion to become the author of a system; no ambition to distinguish himself by new or singular opinions. In a long and active life, and in the exercise of a profession, instructive above most others in the knowledge of the human mind, he had many opportunities of observing the power of habit in forming the character of man, and the effect of early discipline in the improvement of his moral and intellectual nature. As a parent, he had studied the capacities of the infant mind, and in a particular manner had directed his attention to the first developement of the passions, in the view of discovering the regimen most proper to mould the heart and the affections, the primary springs of man's right conduct in life. It appeared to him, that too little attention

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was commonly bestowed on this most important object of education; while the care of the preceptor was usually limited to the cultivation of the understanding, or to the external accomplishments of the pupil. It was his opinion, that much preposterous labour was often employed, in forcing upon the tender mind of infancy, a premature knowledge of literature and the sciences; which had the worst effect in straining the faculties, anticipating the gradual but sure progress of the understanding, and thus finally weakening, instead of improving, the mental powers. He saw, with yet more regret, that in the prevailing taste for frivolous outward embellishments, and the graces of deportment, much mischievous care was bestowed in effacing the native ingenuity of the characters of infancy and youth, and substituting in its place, that varnish of politeness, and artifice of manners, which covers every deficiency of morality, and too often demands its sacrifice, as essential to the commerce of the world *.

* The system of *Lord Chesterfield*, in those celebrated Letters to his natural son, which are, with too many parents.

Impressed with these sentiments, Lord Kames had occasionally committed to writing a variety of remarks on the subject of education, as they arose in his mind, either in canvassing the opinions of others, or in his observation of life and manners. These at length accumulating to a considerable extent, the idea naturally occurred of giving them a connected form, and throwing them into regular order. But this task was undertaken too late. The venerable Author

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the complete institute and manual of education, is built upon one single general precept: "Study the weaknesses of mankind, and take advantage of them for your own interest." To this great end, the *appearance* of virtue is essential, while its *reality* is absolutely pernicious. The cultivation of the understanding is necessary, as it enables us to mould the weak and ignorant to our purposes, and often to make our dupes even of men of ability. An elegance of address, and politeness of manners, are universally ingratiating: in these, the Ladies are the best instructors; and the surest way to gain their favour, is to corrupt their virtue.—Astonishing! that doctrines thus flagrantly insulting to decency and good morals, and in which so little respect is paid to the common feelings, or even (as the author would perhaps term them) the prejudices of mankind, should have excited any other sentiment than a general indignation.

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was now in the 85th year of his age *. His faculties, though still wonderfully entire, had lost much of their energy: and although, from the influence of habit, his active mind was still engaged in its usual occupations, and found its accustomed pleasure in study and composition, its powers were sensibly affected by the decay of the animal frame †. Apprehensive himself, as

* Lord Kames's *Loose Hints on Education* were published at Edinburgh in the year 1781.

† Although this natural decay both of body and mind is a characteristic of old age; and although instances are not wanting of that failure of the mental powers which we term dotage, in some men who possessed the brightest genius; yet I believe it to be a general fact, that in proportion as the powers of the mind are vigorous by nature, and have been strongly exercised, they are the less subject to decay from old age. The observation of Cicero I believe to be just; that the mind as well as the body is strengthened by exercise; with this difference, that the former is not worn out, like the latter, by its own activity; and that (as Cicero well observes) dotage is not the characteristic of old age in general, but most commonly of a weak and frivolous mind in old age: "*Corpora quidem defatigatione et exercitatione ingravescunt: "animi autem exercitando levantur: nam quos ait Cæcilius— "*COMICOS, STULTOS SENES; *hos significat credulos, obliviosos,*

he often acknowledged with much solicitude, of this most frequent and most melancholy attendant on old age, and even conscious in some degree, as it would appear, of its approach, he hastened to bring this last work to a period; "willing" (as he says) "rather that it should appear in a loose attire, than that he should end his life under the feeling of regret, that he had left any thing undone that could benefit mankind." Candour, therefore, and humanity itself, forbid the subjecting a work composed under such circumstances, to the rigour of critical examination. It is enough to say, what even the severest judgment will allow, that the practical advices contained in this book, are, in general, the dictates of prudence, and the result of a wise and enlightened experience; while the morality it conveys is founded on the solid

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"*dissolutos: quæ vitia sunt non senectutis, sed inertis, ignavæ, somniculosæ senectutis: ut petulantia, ut libido, magis est adolescentium quàm senum; nec tamen omnium adolescentium, sed non proborum: Sic istu senilis stultitia quæ deliratio appellari solet, senum levium est, non omnium.*"—CICERO de Sen. c. 11.

BOOK IV. basis of the relative duties of man, both to his God and to his fellow-creatures.

Religion a main object of attention.

In this plan of education, which regards chiefly the culture of the Heart, Religion forms a capital object of attention. It was not Lord Kames's opinion, as it is of some modern writers on education, that on this most important subject, the mind of infancy should be left, without a guide, to wander in wild conjecture; or yet worse,—should be suffered to conceive, from the total neglect of such instruction on the part of the parent or the tutor, while every other mental acquisition is carefully attended to, that Religion is of slight importance, or only the concern of vulgar minds.——That his own mind, vigorous and penetrating as it was, and ever free from prejudices, was deeply impressed with the great truths of Religion, and habitually imbued with the warmest sentiments of devotion, we see from the general strain of his moral and philosophical writings. It seemed, therefore, to him most essential, that Religion should form a main branch of education, even in the earliest pe-

riod of infancy; and this for a reason more peculiarly consonant to his own theory of original instincts*, that Nature herself having implanted its principles in the human mind, it is expedient to strengthen in early life these useful impressions, and to preserve them pure from every taint of error or corruption. "The being of a God, and the "worship due to Him, being engraven on "the mind, make a branch of our nature. "As nature thus takes the lead, it is the "duty of parents to second nature. They "ought to inculcate into their children, "that God is their friend and heavenly Fa-"ther; and that they ought to perform his "will, which is, to do all the good they "can. Convince them that God is always "present, and that not a thought can be "concealed from him. Accompany every "one of your lessons with describing the "Deity as benevolent and humane, wishing "the good of his creatures, and rewarding

* See *supra*, Book III. Chap. V.

BOOK IV. "the virtuous, if not in this life, assuredly "in a life to come*."

On the subject of Revealed Religion, Lord Kames earnestly recommends it as a duty to the parent or preceptor to acquaint the child with its fundamental doctrines; for as these are not imprinted on the mind, or discoverable by simple reason, independently of instruction, they would never be acquired at all. He combats with force that opinion, which recommends the delay of this salutary instruction, till the faculty of reason attains to maturity; for long before that period, erroneous impressions may be received, and take such deep root, that no discipline will be able effectually to remove them. In conveying the knowledge of these great, but mysterious truths, to the infant understanding, the Author thus strongly urges the necessity of an enlightened care of the parent, to guard the tender mind from bigotry and superstition:

* *Loose Hints on Education*, p. 162.

" Teach your children to prefer their own
" religion; but inculcate at the same time,
" that the virtuous are acceptable to God,
" however erroneous in point of belief.
" Press it home to them, that there is no-
" thing in nature to hinder different sects
" of Christians from living amicably toge-
" ther, more than different sects of philoso-
" phers, or of men who work in different
" arts: especially as the articles of faith
" which distinguish these sects are purely
" speculative; they have no relation to mo-
" rals, nor any influence on our conduct.
" Yet from these distinctions have proceed-
" ed rancour and animosity, as if our most
" important concerns had been at stake.
" In a different view, the absurdity appears
" still more glaring. These articles, the
" greater part at least, relate to subjects
" beyond the reach of human understand-
" ing. The Almighty, by his works of
" creation, has made his wisdom and bene-
" volence manifest: but he has not found
" it necessary to explain to his creatures
" the manner of his existence; and in all

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"appearance the manner of his existence is
"beyond the reach of our conceptions.—
"Persecution for the sake of religion would
"have been entirely prevented by whole-
"some education, instilling into the minds
"of young people, that difference of opi-
"nion is no just cause of discord; and that
"different sects may live amicably together.
"In a word, neglect no opportunity to im-
"press on the mind of your pupils, that
"religion is given for our good; and that
"no religion can be true which tends to dis-
"turb the peace of society *."

On this important subject, the Author, in supplement of his own remarks, has presented his reader, in the Appendix to the seventh section of his work, with a series of excellent practical observations by a different hand. These are known to have proceeded from the pen of a most respectable clergyman of the Established Church, with whom Lord Kames for many years lived in terms of the most intimate friendship; and

* *Loose Hints on Education*, p. 178.

by whose criticisms and suggestions he profited in several others of his works. It would have given me pleasure to have mentioned his name; but this his modesty has declined.

I cannot, however, forbear to make use of the venerable authority I have just now mentioned, for the following particulars, illustrative of Lord Kames's character, in reference to religion; and I give them in the writer's own words: "He was habitually "devout, and his devout sentiments were "most impressive. He would illustrate "the wisdom of God from Final Causes, "with great diversity and ingenuity of "thought, and repose on Divine Benevo-"lence with trust and resignation. I have "heard him mention the light of immortality "as an excellence peculiar to the doctrine "of Christ. He gave unqualified praise to "Butler's *Analogy*, which is a defence of "Revealed, as well as of Natural Religion. "He was regular in his attendance upon "public worship; and during my abode

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" with him, he had worship in his family
" every evening. Sometimes he would ad-
" vert to the chapter which I read, with a
" marked relish for the sacred writings. I
" may mention one instance: He was read-
" ing a part of his *Sketches of the History of*
" *Man*, which says of Franklin's parable *;

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* The excellent parable here mentioned, though unstamped with the authority of the sacred writings, cannot be too generally known, or its import too seriously considered:

" And it came to pass after these things, that Abraham sat
" in the door of his tent, about the going down of the sun.
" And behold a man bent with age, coming from the way of
" the wilderness, leaning on a staff. And Abraham arose
" and met him, and said unto him, Turn in, I pray thee, and
" wash thy feet, and tarry all night, and thou shalt arise early
" in the morning, and go on thy way. And the man said,
" Nay; for I will abide under this tree. But Abraham en-
" treated him greatly: so he turned, and they went into the
" tent: and Abraham baked unleavened bread, and they
" did eat. And when Abraham saw that the man blessed
" not God, he said unto him, Wherefore dost thou not wor-
" ship the Most High God, Creator of heaven and earth?
" And the man answered and said, I do not worship thy
" God, neither do I call upon his name; for I have made to
" myself a God, which abideth always in mine house,
" and provideth me with all things. And Abraham's zeal

" Were it really a chapter of *Genesis*, one " is apt to think that persecution could " never have shewn a bare face among " Jews and Christians.' When we were " called to family-worship, I read the four- " teenth chapter of the *Epistle to the Ro-* " *mans*, and immediately after prayer, he " went and dictated the following passage:

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" was kindled against the man, and he arose, and fell upon " him, and drove him forth with blows into the wilderness. " And God called unto Abraham, saying, Abraham, where " is the stranger? And Abraham answered and said, Lord, " he would not worship thee, neither would he call upon thy " name; therefore have I driven him out from before my " face into the wilderness. And God said, Have I borne " with him these hundred ninety and eight years, and " nourished him, and clothed him, notwithstanding his re- " bellion against me; and couldst not thou, who art thyself " a sinner, bear with him one night *?"

* Since the publication of the first edition, I find from the information of the writer of a very able and candid Review of these Memoirs, in the *British Critic*, (August 1807) that Dr Franklin was not the author of the parable above quoted; but that it is found in the *Bostan* of the Persian Poet *Sadi*, which was written A. D. 1206; and likewise in Jeremy Taylor's *Liberty of Prophecying*, where it is given as the composition of a Jew.——I observe that Lord Kames, while he says, it was communicated to him by Dr Franklin, does not affirm it to be of his composition.

BOOK IV. "But alas! that is a vain thought. Such a "passage in the *Old Testament* would avail "as little against the rancorous passions of "men, as the following passages in the "*New Testament*; though persecution can- "not be condemned in terms more ex- "plicit: *Him that is weak in the faith re- "ceive you*,' &c. inserting a great part of the "chapter from St Paul *verbatim*."

CHAPTER III.

Latter period of Lord Kames's life.—Decline of his health.—His correspondence continues with Dr Reid.—Marriage of his Son.—Letter to Mrs Montagu.—Progress of his last illness.—His death.—Some particulars of his character, manners, and opinions.—His conversation.—Dislike to political topics.—His high sense of duty.—Love of fame.—His philosophy a rational Stoicism.—Conclusion.

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Latter period of Lord Kames's life.

LORD KAMES had hitherto enjoyed an uncommon share of good health; and at the very advanced age of eighty-five, was free from any chronical disease, and even from those symptoms of bodily infirmity, which are the usual attendants of the decline of life. His constitution, though never apparently strong, was remarkably sound; and

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although his manner of living was sociable, and at no time repugnant to moderate indulgences, it had on the whole been temperate. The practice of regular exercise in the open air, and his frequent journeys, had happily counteracted the injury his health must otherwise have sustained from his habits of intense study. His faculties were still remarkably entire; and although a slight failure of memory, and some abatement of that quickness of apprehension for which he was so much distinguished, gave the first intimation of a diminished vigour of mind, he was not only able to continue the discharge of his public duties, but to relish the society of his friends, and solace himself with his usual literary occupations. He might with truth have adopted the honest boast of the venerable Cato, at a like advanced age: *Non plane me enervavit nec afflixit senectus non curia vires meas desiderat, non rostra, non amici, non hospites.*—CIC. DE SENEC. X *.

* "I am an old man; but age, as you see, has neither "altogether enfeebled, nor broken my constitution; neither

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He continued to enjoy those small and select evening parties, which usually met at his house, during the winter and summer sessions, without invitation; where, from the agreeable intermixture of the guests, literary conversation was happily blended with innocent mirth and pleasantry. At these meetings, it was the envied privilege of a few of his younger friends, to find a place; and the graver conversation of a SMITH, a BLAIR, and a FERGUSSON, was agreeably tempered and enlivened by the native wit, the splendid abilities, and the engaging manners of a CULLEN *; or the

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" the Senate, nor the Forum, thinks Cato an useless mem-
" ber; his friends and his guests can yet enjoy his com-
" pany."—So Cleanthes, (as Diogenes Laertius informs us,) when some silly fellow was taunting him with his old age; " True, said he, I am old, and I am not unwilling to take " my departure: but when I find my health yet good, and " that I can amuse myself tolerably with my writings, and " even with my own thoughts, I think I may as well continue " here a little longer." Ὀνειδιστου τινος εις το γηρας, Καγω, ἐφη, ἀπιεναι βουλομαι. ὁταν δε πανταχοθεν ἑμαυτον ὑγιαινοντα περιεω, και γραφοντα, και αναμιμνησκομενα, παλιν μενω.—*Diog. Laert. in vita Cleanthis.*

* The late Honourable ROBERT CULLEN, one of the Judges of the Courts of Session and Justiciary.

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sprightly fancy, and whimsical eccentricity of a BOSWELL.——He attended regularly, even to the last period of his life, the meetings of the Philosophical Society, and took an active share in their proceedings. The plan of the formation of the Royal Society of Edinburgh was at that time in agitation, and he entered warmly into a scheme which promised to promote his favourite objects, the improvement of literature and useful science.——But the period was now at hand, which was to close his course of virtue and beneficence.

Decline of his health.

In the beginning of the year 1782, when he had now nearly completed his 86th year, he was seized with a disorder of the bowels; a complaint which, from being attended with no pain, gave him for a considerable time very little apprehension. Perceiving, however, after some months, that though perhaps retarded in its progress, the disease had not yielded to medicine or regimen, he began, towards the end of summer, to regard it as likely to terminate fatally, and that even at no distant period. Meantime,

his family and friends, who saw him in the possession of his usual cheerfulness and vivacity, and still applying with ardour to his accustomed pursuits, took no alarm; and the tender regard which he felt for Mrs Drummond, prevented him from imparting to her his own apprehensions.

His correspondence continues with Dr Reid.

In the course of this summer, his correspondence was frequent with his much valued friend Dr Reid, on various topics of philosophy;—a correspondence which, notwithstanding the dissimilarity of character in many respects between these two eminent men, had now subsisted, for a long period of years, with the most perfect cordiality and mutual esteem. On this subject, I am happy to avail myself of a testimony most honourable to both;—a testimony the more valuable, that it is the result, not only of a discriminating judgment, but of an intimate acquaintance and friendship, with both the persons to whom it relates: "With "one very distinguished character, the late "Lord Kames," says Mr Stewart, "he "(Dr Reid) lived in the most cordial and af-

" fectionate friendship, notwithstanding the
" avowed opposition of their sentiments, on
" some moral questions, to which he at-
" tached the greatest importance. Both of
" them, however, were the friends of virtue
" and of mankind; and both were able to
" temper the warmth of free discussion,
" with the forbearance and good humour
" founded on reciprocal esteem. No two
" men, certainly, ever exhibited a more
" striking contrast in their conversation, or
" in their constitutional tempers;—the one
" slow and cautious in his decisions, even
" on those topics which he had most dili-
" gently studied; reserved and silent in
" promiscuous society; and retaining, after
" all his literary eminence, the same simple
" and unassuming manners which he brought
" from his country residence:—the other,
" lively, rapid, and communicative; accus-
" tomed by his professional pursuits, to
" wield with address the weapons of con-
" troversy, and not averse to a trial of his
" powers on questions the most foreign to
" his ordinary habits of inquiry. But these
" characteristical differences, while to their

"common friends they lent an additional "charm to the distinguishing merits of "each, served only to enliven their social "intercourse, and to cement their mutual "attachment *."

Marriage of his Son.

A family event which took place about this time, gave Lord Kames the most sincere satisfaction. This was the marriage of his only son, Mr HOME-DRUMMOND, to Miss JARDINE, daughter of an old and valued friend, the Reverend JOHN JARDINE, D. D. one of the Ministers of Edinburgh †. It was the only circumstance wanting to his domestic felicity, and that of his excellent spouse. It had been long and earnestly wished for by both; and no connexion which their son could form, could be more

* *Account of the Life and Writings of Thomas Reid, D. D.* p. 141. It may not be unpleasing to the reader, to see both a public and private testimony to the merits of Lord Kames, from the pen of his venerable friend Dr REID; and these he will find at NO. V. of the Appendix to this Volume.

† A cadet of the family of Applegirth in Dumfries-shire.

BOOK IV. entirely approved; as they saw in that union the prospect of all the happiness that the talents and virtues of a wife can ensure to her husband*.

During the summer term of 1782, Lord Kames gave the most regular attendance on his official duty in the Courts of Session and Justiciary, and at the end of the term, went, as usual, with his family to Blair-Drummond. As his decline was now too visible, Mrs Drummond became solicitous to prevail with him to excuse himself from attending the autumn circuit; but no entreaty to that purpose was of any avail: "It is very "possible," said he to his daughter-in-law, "that this journey may shorten my life a "little space;—but what then? have I not "lived long enough?"

* It was of the same young Lady, whom her father-in-law had known from infancy, that he gave to a friend this high, but merited character, "That she never spoke when she ought "to have preserved silence; and never was silent when she "ought to have spoken."——I question, whether so comprehensive an eulogy was ever made in so few words.

On his return from the circuit, his strength decreased daily, and he was no longer able to take his accustomed walks over his grounds: but the serenity and cheerfulness of his temper remained unabated. He spent a great part of the day in study; and in the evenings took much delight in conversing with his family, and in hearing his daughter-in-law read to him. His bookseller, Mr Creech, with whom he was in the habit of frequent and familiar correspondence *, having informed him that a new edition would soon be wanted of his *Sketches of the History of Man*, he employed himself occasionally in making corrections, not merely of the style, but, in several places, of the thought and argument. On this subject, the following letter to Mrs Montagu, when we consider the circumstances under which it was written, (within a very few weeks of his death,) is a remarkable specimen of intellectual power:

* See Appendix to this Volume, No. IX.

" *Blair-Drummond,*

" *October* 29. 1782.

" MY GOOD, MY CORDIAL FRIEND,

Letter to Mrs Montagu.

" Decay is stamped upon whatever passes in this world. Even sacred friendship has this fatal tendency to dissolution, and to preserve it for any length of time in vigour, requires good offices, or at least a frequent communication of sentiments. The latter only is in my power; and as there are few things I value above your friendship, I am resolved that you shall not forget me; a little mental sustenance from time to time will prevent decay.

" In reviewing the *Sketches of the History of Man*, to prepare for a new edition, I have discovered a capital omission, which I purpose to supply, at p. 208. vol. iv. As of late years, I find a decay of memory with regard to things recent, I am not quite certain, whether I may not have sent you a copy of my intended addition some little

time ago." If I have, it is but throwing this letter into the fire. The addition is as follows: CHAP. II.

" Some philosophers there are, not indeed so hardened in scepticism, as to deny the existence of a Deity. They acknowledge a self-existent Being; and seem willing to bestow on that Being, power, wisdom, and every other perfection. But then they maintain, That the world, or matter at least, must also be self-existent. Their argument is, that *Ex nihilo nihil fit;* that it is inconsistent to hold, that any thing can be made out of nothing, out of a nonentity. To consider nothing, or a *nonens*, as a material or substance out of which things can be formed, like a statue out of stone, or a sword out of iron, is, I acknowledge, a gross absurdity. But I perceive no absurdity or inconsistence in supposing that matter itself was brought into existence by Almighty power; and the popular expression, that God made the world out of nothing, has no other meaning, than that He made the materials, as well as

BOOK IV. the objects themselves. It is [redacted] the operations of men, nothing [redacted] duced, but from antecedent materials; and so accustomed are we to such operations, as not readily to conceive how a thing can be brought into existence without antecedent materials, or, as it is commonly expressed, made out of nothing. But will any man in sober sense venture to set bounds to Almighty Power, where he cannot point out a clear inconsistence? It is indeed difficult to conceive a thing so remote from common apprehension; but is there less difficulty in conceiving matter to exist without a cause, and to be entitled to the awful appellation of *Self-existent*, like the Lord of the Universe, to whom a more exalted appellation cannot be given? Now, if it be within the utmost verge of possibility for matter to have been created, I conclude, with the highest probability on my side, that it owes its existence to Almighty Power. Difficulties about the creation of matter, testify our ignorance; but to argue from our ignorance of the mode of being of any thing, that it cannot be, has always been held very weak

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soning. Our faculties are adapted to our ent state, and perform their office in ection, but to complain that they do not reach the origin of things, is no less absurd than to complain that we cannot ascend to the moon, in order to be acquainted with its inhabitants.

" At the same time it is a comfortable reflection, that the question, whether matter was created, or no, is a pure, inconsequential speculation, and that either side may be adopted without impiety. To me, it appears more simple, and more natural, to hold it to be a work of creation, than to be self-existent, and consequently independent of the Almighty, either to create, or to annihilate. I cheerfully make the former an article in my creed; but without anathematizing those who adopt the latter. I would, however, have it understood, that I limit my concession to matter in its rude and chaotic state: I cannot possibly go so far as to comprehend the world or universe in its orderly or systematic form. That im-

mense machine, composed of parts [illegible] number, so artfully combined as t[illegible] infinite variety of useful ends and [illegible] must be the work of an Artist, the production of a Great Being, Omniscient, as well as Omnipotent. To assign blind fatality as the cause, is an insufferable absurdity.

" You have heard, my dear Madam, of the recent event in my family. I never gave my Son but one counsel, as to the choice of a wife, which was, to make personal merit his object, without regard to external circumstances. He has followed my advice; and never was a couple united upon more rational motives; for the choice followed upon a long acquaintance, at the commencement of which, neither of them had, or could have, any prospect of being united.——I ever am, yours, &c.

HENRY HOME."

" *P. S.* If there should be any thing fitted to give offence in the passage quoted above, of which I am not sensible, I beg to be informed of it: and for this reason, re-

quest you would show it to some of the Bishops of your acquaintance, by whose opinion I shall be regulated *."

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Progress of his last illness.

Sensible of his rapid decline, his family now became extremely anxious for his removal to Edinburgh: in the faint hope, that some benefit might arise from the excellent medical advice of which he would there have the advantage: and although he had not himself the smallest hope of that kind, he willingly acquiesced in the proposal, from motives of a different nature. Besides gratifying the earnest wishes of Mrs Drummond, as the winter session was now near at hand, he pleased himself with the thought, that he might be able to continue, to the last hours of his life, in the exercise of his duty.

For the following interesting particulars, I am indebted to the information of his

* Mrs MONTAGU's answer to this letter, the reader will find at No. VI. of the Appendix to this Volume, Letter III.

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daughter-in-law, to whom alone [illegible] known: and I am anxious to give [illegible] nearly as I can, in her own words, [illegible] very few days before his departure from Blair-Drummond, in a short walk which he took with her in the garden, he desired her to sit down by him on one of the benches; saying he felt himself much fatigued; and adding, that he was sensible he was now growing weaker every day. On her expressing a hope, that, on going to town, his friend Dr Cullen, who knew his constitution, might be able to give him some advice that would be of service to him; and that she flattered herself, his disease had been rather less troublesome to him for some time past; "My dear child," said he, looking in her face with an earnest and animated expression, "Don't talk of my dis-
"ease: I have no disease but old age. I
"know that Mrs Drummond and my Son
"are of a different opinion: but why should
"I distress them sooner than is necessary.
"I know well that no physician on earth
"can do me the smallest service: for I feel
"that I am dying; and I thank God, that

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" my mind is prepared for that event. I " leave this world in peace and good-will " to all mankind.—You know the dread I " have had of outliving my faculties; of " that I trust there is now no great proba- " bility, as my body decays so fast.—My " life has been a long one; and prosperous, " on the whole, beyond my deserts: but I " would fain indulge the hope, that it has not " been useless to my fellow-creatures. My " last wish regarded my Son and you, my " dear child; and I have lived to see it ac- " complished: I am now ready to obey my " Maker's summons."——He then poured forth a short but solemn and impressive prayer. On leaving the garden, he said, " This is my last farewell to this place: I " think I shall never see it more. I go to " town chiefly to satisfy Mrs Drummond,— " otherwise I could willingly have remained " here. But go where I will, I am in the " hands of Almighty God."

His Death.

He left Blair-Drummond in the beginning of November; and the Court of Ses-

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sion meeting soon after, for the [illegible] went thither on the first day of [illegible] and took his seat with the rest of the Judges. He continued for some little time to attend the meetings of the Court, and to take his share in its usual business, but soon became sensible that his strength was not equal to the effort. On the last day of his attendance, he took a separate and affectionate farewell of each of his brethren. He survived that period only five days. He died on the 27th of December 1782, in the 87th year of his age. A letter which he wrote within a few days of his death to Lord Gardenstone, as a member of the Board of Trustees for Arts and Manufactures; and a personal application which he made within the same period, to his friend Mr Arbuthnot *, the Secretary of the same Board, in behalf of a very deserving man, who had

* Robert Arbuthnot, Esq. F. R. S. Edin. Secretary to the Board of Trustees for the Encouragement of Arts and Manufactures,—a most worthy and amiable man; who, to an elegant and polished mind, united a delicate vein of wit, and singular talents for conversation, with the gentlest manners, the kindest affections, and the best virtues of the heart.

fallen into indigence, bear testimony, that his mind was occupied, even in its last moments, with matters of public concern, and of private beneficence.

Lord Kames was in his person extremely tall, and of a thin and slender make. In his latter years, he had a considerable stoop in his gait; but when in the vigour of life, and particularly when in his dress of a barrister, his appearance is said to have been uncommonly becoming. His countenance, though not handsome, was animated and intelligent, and was strongly marked by that benignity of disposition which was a prominent feature of his mind *. In ordinary

* The engraving, which serves as a frontispiece to this work, and which was executed by Mr Beugo, from an original drawing by Mr David Martin, (Painter to the Prince of Wales for Scotland), conveys a very strong resemblance, both of the countenance and expression, and of the person and air of Lord Kames, in the latter years of his life.

In compliance with what seems at present a very general taste, two plates are added, containing specimens of Lord Kames's handwriting. These are inserted immediately before the Appendix to this Volume.

discourse, his accent and pronunciation were like those of the better educated of his countrymen of the last age. The tone was not displeasing from its vulgarity; and though the idiom, and frequently the phrases, were peculiar to the Scottish dialect, his language was universally intelligible.

Some particulars of his character, manners and opinions.

As in the course of the preceding pages, I have not willingly omitted any circumstance that I thought truly descriptive of this eminent man, either in an intellectual or moral point of view, where it could with propriety be introduced; and have taken notice of the more distinguished peculiarities of his manners, temper, and habits of life, it is unnecessary to add to the length of these Memoirs, by any formal delineation of his character. A few circumstances, however, yet remain to be mentioned, which have either been too slightly touched, or which could not so easily find a place in the chain of the narrative.

A strong feature of Lord Kames's disposition, was an artless simplicity and ingenuity, which led him at all times to express without reserve both his feelings and his opinions. This propensity gave frequently an appearance of bluntness of manner, which was apt to impress a stranger unfavourably, as erring against those lesser proprieties of behaviour, so necessary in the commerce of the world. But this impression was momentary; the same frankness of nature displayed at once both the defect and its cause: it laid open the integrity of his character, and that perfect candour, which, judging always most favourably of others, was unconscious of harbouring a thought which required concealment or disguise.

He had likewise a certain humorous playfulness, which, to those who knew him intimately, detracted nothing from the feeling of respect due to his eminent talents and virtues. To such, it was, the *discinctus ludus, et animi remissio* of a Scipio or a Lælius, the pleasing relaxation of a great mind from the intense severity of its usual

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employments. To those to whom he was less known, and to strangers it might indeed convey the idea of a lightness, derogating from that dignity which one naturally associates with an eminent character. But this first impression, as in the former instance, was of no continuance. It was dispelled at once by that vigour of intellect which his conversation never failed to display; and the same peculiarity which at first was blamed, became now both amusing and ingratiating, as it made every one feel perfectly at ease in his company.

The playfulness of manner to which I have alluded, may have arisen in great part from the delight which he always took in the company and conversation of young persons of either sex. A few of these, who were more particularly his favourites, mingled in all his domestic parties *. His spouse, whose habits and affections were in

* Among these, I enumerate with pleasure some of my own earliest friends,—W. Adam, J. Anstruther (Sir J. A.), W. Macdowall, and W. Fullerton, Esqrs.

every thing assimilated to his own, enjoyed equally the society of her younger female friends; and generally had some amiable and accomplished young person of her own sex who lived with her, and made a part of the family; especially in the country; where the evenings were enlivened by cheerful conversation, the perusal of some amusing works of fancy, or music, in which Lord Kames took particular pleasure. In the gaiety of spirits attending ingenuous youth, and in the openness of character which accompanies that happy period of life, it must be a hard and rugged nature that does not feel a temporary sympathy; and a frequent repetition of any indulgence or affection will impress a permanent tone of mind.

He had a high esteem and respect for the female sex; regarding Woman, in her true, and most dignified light, as the kindest partner of man's social affections, the solace of his cares and anxieties, the cordial friend in whom he never finds a rival. It was most natural, that the excellent qualities of his own partner should contribute much to this

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favourable opinion; which doubtless was still increased by the intimate acquaintance and sincere friendships it was his lot to form, with some of the worthiest and most accomplished women of the past and present age.

His conversation.

His manner in conversation was extremely animated; and he was ready to engage with interest in almost every topic that occurred, whether of ordinary life, literature or science. Yet, though thus naturally communicative, he was not loquacious; nor was he ever apt, like some men of science, to harangue or lecture to his audience. Conversation was with him a free interchange of sentiments; and he was equally pleased to draw forth and listen to those of others, as to express his own. Though fond of an argument, he never betrayed the smallest heat of temper; but delivered his opinions with so much good humour and vivacity, as always to amuse and please, even where he failed to convince his antagonist.

CHAP. III.

Dislike to political topics.

There was indeed one subject of conversation, and that too one of the most frequent in mixed companies, in which he was never disposed willingly to engage. For the discussion of those topics of a political nature, which make so great a part of the ordinary discourse in such companies, he had a strong dislike. Allowing its due importance to that valuable privilege of British subjects, to exercise a free judgment on the conduct of their rulers, and openly to declare that judgment, when it is the result of a candid and enlightened inquiry; he regarded it as the height of folly and self-conceit in those persons of ordinary capacity and limited information, who have no other knowledge of public affairs than is supplied by the newspapers, or the talk of the coffee-house, to vent their crude opinions on matters of State, or to decide on the conduct of Ministers, and the counsels and measures of Government. He saw likewise that the canvassing of topics of that sort in mixed society, has generally the effect of kindling the passions, and rousing those animosities which embitter social inter-

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course, and keep up the spirit of faction. He therefore at no time introduced such subjects of discourse; and when the conversation chanced to take that turn, which rarely happened among those who knew his dislike to them, he either took no part in it, or endeavoured to divert it by some timely pleasantry, or guide it with address into a different channel. There is perhaps another reason, why that sort of discourse was peculiarly distasteful to him. He was naturally of a sanguine disposition, and had nothing in his temperament of that gloomy foreboding, and dispiriting anticipation of public evil, from any temporary misfortune or misconduct, which furnish the usual topics of such conversation. It was his happy turn of mind, to look to the bright side of every future prospect; and with the favourable opinion he possessed of human nature, and yet more, the trust he reposed in an overruling Providence, he was not disposed to see, in any change of circumstances, however unpromising, a just cause for that despondency, which in itself is one of the worst of evils.

His high sense of duty.

He had a strong sense of that perfect rectitude of mind which is expected in the character of a Judge; and thought it a derogation to suppose it possible, that any person deemed worthy to hold that office, should allow his interest or his passions in any case to sway or to pervert his judgment. So powerful indeed was this feeling, that he seemed to regard it in some measure as a personal injury, when the integrity of a Chief Magistrate was on any occasion brought into question, or his character made the subject of censure. Thus, he felt strongly the indignity offered to the judicial character, by the publication of certain letters addressed to a Chief-Justice of England, in which that great Judge, whose probity and uprightness of mind were as conspicuous as his high abilities, was held forth to the public as prostituting his talents, and perverting the principles of law, to serve the purposes of private malevolence and personal prejudice. So likewise he felt with regard to the *Letters of Junius*, which, allowing for the display of talents, and for every orna-

BOOK IV. ment they possess of style and composition, he deemed a flagrant transgression of decorum, and a disgusting picture of the rancour of party-spirit. It was indeed difficult for him at any time to separate the idea of personal satire from a malignity of nature, under whatever form it appeared.

It was in such instances as I have mentioned, that he frequently expressed a doubt of the beneficial effects of a liberty of the press, altogether so unlimited as what is generally understood to prevail in this country. The free publication of certain speculative opinions in Politics and Theology, is allowed to be attended with dangerous consequences; yet the press furnishes at the same time the means of exposing and refuting those opinions; and truth and good sense will ultimately prevail over folly and error. But the calumnies of which an individual is the object, admit frequently of no remedy: fortune and fame may thus be lost, beyond recovery; or the unhappy victim perish at once, the martyr of "a wounded spirit."

Love of fame.

In reflecting on the whole tenor of this long and active life, and particularly on the wonderful industry displayed in the composition of those numerous works which Lord Kames has left to posterity, while a great portion of his time was necessarily engrossed by his public duties, we cannot avoid the belief, that he felt in a very strong degree the love of reputation, and that this was indeed a ruling principle of his nature. But what is the love of reputation, but the desire to acquire the esteem of others, which cannot be purchased, unless by the possession of those qualities, and the performance of those actions that deserve esteem? He acknowledged, therefore, with pride, his sensibility to that generous passion; and attending to its universal influence on all but the most degraded of the species, he justly accounted it an useful and beautiful part of the moral structure of man; and one of the many instances in which the selfish and social principles of his nature, are happily conciliated and united *.

* See *Elements of Criticism*, Chap. II. Part VII.

BOOK IV.

His philosophy a rational Stoicism.

Of the principal doctrines of Lord Kames's Philosophy, I have occasionally taken notice, in the short accounts I have given of those works of his, in which they are contained. A summary of them may be found in the *Recapitulation* at the end of his *Essays on the Principles of Morality and Natural Religion*, and in the excellent *Prayer* which concludes that work *.

On a comprehensive view of his speculative opinions, they will be found to bear, in many points, a strong affinity to the more rational doctrines of the Stoical School, both as they relate to the system of the universe, the moral conduct of man, and the pursuit of the highest happiness of his nature. Believing the universe to be the work of an All-wise and supremely beneficent Being, whose Providence continues to superintend and regulate every part of that complicated machine, he regarded the whole system to be so contrived, as both by its physical and

* See Appendix, No. VII.

moral laws, to produce the greatest possible sum of general good *. Man he considered as an instrument in the hand of God, to accomplish that great purpose; fitted by the active principles of his nature to contribute powerfully to that end; and having his moral frame so admirably constituted, as to find his own chief happiness, while he most effectually promotes the welfare and happiness of his fellow-creatures †.

* Τὰ τῶν Θεῶν προνοίας μεστά. Τὰ τῆς τύχης οὐκ ἄνευ φύσεως, ἢ συγκλώσεως, καὶ ἐπιπλοκῆς τῶν προνοίᾳ διοικουμένων. Πάντα ἐκεῖθεν ῥεῖ· πρόεστι δὲ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον, καὶ τὸ τῷ ὅλῳ κόσμῳ συνυφέρον, οὗ μέρος εἶ. "Whatever the Gods ordain is full of the wisest providence. What we attribute to fortune, does not happen, but through a concurrence of circumstances directed by the wisest foresight. All things flow from thence. There is a necessity in events; but even that is directed to the utility of the great system of which you are a part."—M. ANTONINUS, lib. 2. § 3.

† Οὕτως καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος εὐεργετικὸς πεφυκὼς, ὁπόταν τι εὐεργετικὸν ἢ ἄλλως τις τὰ μέσα συνεργετικὸν πράξῃ, πεπλήρωκε πρὸς ὃ κατεσκεύασται, καὶ ἔχει τὸ ἑαυτοῦ. "So likewise man, being born for the purposes of benevolence, whenever he does a good and kind action, does that for which Nature ordained him, and has his own reward in it."—*Ibid.* lib. 9. § 42. And the argument

In the free consent of Man to fulfil this end of his being, by accommodating his will to the Divine Will, and thus endeavouring to discharge his part in society, with cheerful zeal, with perfect integrity, with manly resolution, and with an entire resignation to the decrees of Providence, lies the sum and essence of his duty *.

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of Plutarch is as just as it is beautiful: Καίτοι την χρηστότητα τῶν δικαιοσυνης πλατύτερον τόπον ὁρωμεν ἐπιλαμβάνουσαν. νόμω μὲν γὰρ καὶ τῷ δικαίῳ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους μόνον χρῆσθαι πεφύκαμεν· πρὸς ἡμερότητα δὲ καὶ χάριτας, ἐστιν ὅτε καὶ μέχρι τῶν ἀλόγων ζώων. "We perceive that the duty of benevolence is even of a more extensive nature than that of justice. For we are formed to be regulated by law and justice in our commerce with men: but the obligation of kindness and benevolence is not confined to our own species: it extends even to the inferior animals who have not the use of reason."—*Plutarch in Vita Marc. Cat.*

* Πᾶν μοι συνάρμοζει ὁ σοι εὐάρμοστον ἐστι, ὦ κόσμε· οὐδέν μοι πρόωρον, οὐδὲ ὄψιμον, τὸ σοι εὔκαιρον. πάντα μοι καρπὸς ἃ φέρουσιν αἱ σαὶ ὧραι ὦ Φύσις. Ἐξ σοῦ πάντα, ἐν σοι πάντα, εἰς σὲ πάντα. "Whatever is agreeable to Thee shall be agreeable to me, O thou Soul of the Universe! Nothing shall be to me too early or too late, which is in thy appointed time. Every thing, O God of Nature, which thy seasons bring, is seasonable to me. From Thee are all things, in Thee they have their being, and

But in one respect he differed essentially from the Stoical maxims, at least from the more severe and rigid philosophy of Epictetus, that, regarding every passion of the human frame as a necessary and useful part of our constitution, it was, as he conceived, the duty of the philosopher and moralist, not to subdue and extinguish, but to moderate and temper those affections and emotions, which, under just regulation, are the springs of individual felicity, and of the welfare of society.

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to Thee at last they return."—M. ANTONIN. lib. 4. §23. Ἐκεῖν σαυτὸν τῇ κλωθοῖ συνεφοδίδου, παρέχων συνῆσαι, εἰς τινα ποτε πράγματα βέλτιστα. "Submit yourself with good will to your destiny, resigning yourself implicitly to what is ordained by Providence." —*Ibid.* lib. 4. §34.

Or, in the beautiful lines of GROTIUS, imitated from CLEANTHES.

——————Latet sors indeprensa futuri;
Scit, qui sollicitum me vetat esse, Deus,
Duc Genitor me magne: Sequar quocunque vocabor,
Seu tu læta mihi, seu mihi dura paras

BOOK IV.

It was his firm persuasion, that as the happiness of man, and the right discharge of his duties are, by the order of nature, inseparable, it is most essential that he should form a proper estimate of the extent of those duties: and here, too, his opinions deviated considerably from the doctrines of the Stoical School. As the Stoics carried their notions of the duty of active benevolence so far as to embrace in its wide circle the whole of the human race; as being all equally the creatures and the care of Providence, whose instru- are, for the general good *; it was nes's idea, that an affection so un- is unsuitable to the limited capa- mperfect nature of man. As man

Sistis in hac vita? maneo, partesque tuebor
Quas dederis: revocas Optime? promptus eo.

HUG. GROTIUS *in Natalem Trigesimum.*

* *Μίμνησαι δὲ, καὶ ὅτι συγγένεις πᾶν τὸ λόγικον. Καὶ ὅτι κηδόνεσθαι πάντων ἀνθρώπων κατὰ τὴν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ φύσιν ἐστίν.* "Remember that every rational being is of thy kindred, and it is according to nature to take care of every human creature."—M. ANTONINUS, lib. 3. § 4.

is not capable, from the small extent of his powers, of promoting the general happiness of the human race, so his natural affections do not prompt him to attempt the accomplishment of an unattainable object. These affections, instead of being increased, are weakened by division; and universal benevolence, by extending to a boundless multiplicity of objects, would so divide and parcel out the attention and affection of the individual, as to leave him utterly at a loss where the active exercise of his duty should begin. The wiser economy of nature leaves no such disproportion between man's abilities and his affections. The superior love which he bears to his relations and friends, clearly indicates them as the first objects of his social duties; a share of his affection remains for the worthiest of his neighbours and acquaintance; but the attraction is diminished as its sphere extends, till it becomes at length insensible *. But here, ac-

* Consonant in this to the opinion of Cicero:

Sic enim mihi perspicere videor, ita natos esse nos, ut inter omnes esset societas quædam: major autem, ut quisque prox-

cording to Lord Kames's notion, there occurs a beautiful contrivance of Nature to supply the want of benevolence to distant objects. The abstract ideas of country, religion, government, nay human nature, or mankind itself, have a power of exciting our benevolence, when nearer and stronger claims exist not to supplant it. "The particular objects under each of these classes, "considered singly and apart, may have "little or no force to produce affection; "but when comprehended under one ge- [redacted] view, they become an object that [redacted] and warms the heart." It is in [redacted] only, according to his notion, that man is endowed with a principle of universal benevolence *.

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nè accederet. Itaque cives potiores quàm peregrini, et propinqui quàm alieni. Cum his enim amicitiam natura ipsâ peperit.—Quanta autem vis amicitiæ sit, ex hoc intelligi maximè potest, quod ex infinita societate generis humani, quam conciliavit ipsa natura, ita contracta res est, et adducta in angustum ut omnis caritas aut inter duos, aut inter paucos, jungeretur.—Cic. de Amicitia, c. 5.

* *Essays on the Principles of Morality and Natural Reli-*

But within that smaller sphere of the affections, which is circumscribed by the ties of kindred, friends, acquaintance, and fellow-citizens, how ample, how rich a field for that active virtue in which consists the supreme happiness of man: how noble a triumph in regulating his own desires, correcting his errors, and subduing those evil passions, which are the worst enemies of his peace: How glorious a reward in the animating thought, that in this transitory state, he has been a minister of good to his fellow-creatures, and that even a distant posterity may acknowledge him its benefactor!

Conclusion.

On these worthy principles was formed the life of that eminent man, of whom I have endeavoured to present a picture in these Memoirs. And however faint and imperfect that delineation may be; as I am conscious of having, to the utmost of my power, endeavoured to give it the charac-

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gion, 3d edition, p. 58.; and *Sketches of the History of Man*, Book III. Sk. 2. i. § 4.

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ters of truth and fidelity, I am not without the pleasing hope, that with these fair intentions, the utility of the purpose may plead in excuse for the errors and defects of its execution.——A biographical account of a man of letters is necessarily, in a great measure, the history of his writings: But as a natural curiosity thence arises for every thing that personally regards an eminent character, a separate department is opened to the biographer, in the details of his public and private life; his manners, his habits, and his occupations. Nor are these [illegible] use; for they realize and embody the image in the mind, and give form and features to that picture, which would otherwise be too vague and abstract to be distinctly figured by the imagination.—If to both of these sources of rational interest, another should yet be added, and the labours and the life of an individual should be found to extend their influence in a most sensible degree to his age and country, the subject they present becomes altogether one of the most useful and engaging that are to be found in the varied fields of literature.

CHAP. III.

But in proportion to the magnitude, is the difficulty of treating such a subject; and how justly may he who has rashly adventured on this arduous task, dread the stern reproof,

Tecum habita, et nôris quàm sit tibi curta supellex!

END OF VOLUME SECOND.

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